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A CRITICAL
REVIEW
OF THE
LIBERTIES
OF
British Subjects. K

WITH A

Comparative View of the Proceedings of
the H—e of C—s of I——d,
against an unfortunate *EXILE* of
that Country; who, in contending for
the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of the
PUBLICK, lost *his own*.

Published as a serious and seasonable WARNING
to all TRUE WHIGS and FREE BRITONS.

By a GENTLEMAN of the *Middle-Temple*.

—Men who injure and oppress the People under
their Administration, provoke them to cry out and
complain; and then, make that very Complaint the
Foundation of new Oppressions and Prosecutions.—

HAMILTON, in the Trial of ZENGER.

L O N D O N;

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A CRITICAL
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WITH A

Comparative View of the Proceedings of
 the House of Commons of 1791—
 against an unparliamentary Bill
 in the County of Kent, in consequence of
 the Rights of the Liberties of the
 People, lost in 1791.



Published at a London and Westminster Printing
 Office, in the Strand, near the Theatre Royal.

By A. GENTLEMAN of the Middle Temple.
 The first Edition, corrected, and with
 a new Preface, and a new Chapter, containing
 a full and complete History of the
 Liberties of the People, in the Year 1791.

L O N D O N.

Printed by R. Watkinson, under the
 Direction of the Committee.

(The Old Library, and the New)

A

CRITICAL REVIEW, &c.

IF an unconfined and unconstrained *Love of Liberty* constitutes the distinguishing Characteristic of a *Free Briton*, as every *Englishman* demands, and every 'Antagonist allows; whatever concerns Liberty, whether it tends to promote or suppress the Cause, in Nations near or remote, as well as at home, must in some degree affect every true *Englishman*, every generous Soul.

FROM this just Motive it proceeds, that every Attempt to regain, extend, or confirm Liberty, though made by our worst Enemies, has in all Ages met with universal Applause, and perhaps Succour from *England*; and every Incroachment upon the Liberty of our most remote fellow Creatures has ever been known to move a general Commiseration and Mourning in *England*, where Men of all Names and Nations, *persecuted for Righteousness*, never fail of finding an *Asylum*.

If we look back into the History of our Country, we may find many evident Proofs of the Truth of these Assertions. And it requires but a little Reflection to shew how much this Principle has proved conducive to the Honour and Interest of all the Countries, wherein it has been encouraged,

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especially

especially, of the *British* Nation: Wherever the true Principles of Liberty are best established, there Arts and Sciences, Trade and Commerce, refined Morality, pure Religion, wise and just Policy, all the Social Virtues, and all that tends to make length of Days desirable, or to give a prospect of a happy Futurity, are most likely to flourish and abound; and wherever they are discouraged, there few or none of these Comforts, these Virtues, these Blessings are to be found. But, where Liberty is totally suppressed, there dark Ignorance and Error, Poverty and Wretchedness, Immorality and Irreligion, Vice and Tyranny, and every thing that tends to the temporal or eternal Infamy, Disgrace and Destruction of human Nature, always prevail.

To provide for the *Health* of the *Community* is the first principle, and the chief End of the Institution of every wise System of civil Government, and is the first Care of every just and prudent Administration: This does not so much regard the *Health* of the *Body Natural*, as that of the *Body Politic*, or the general Society: For, though the *Body Politic* be composed of divers individual *Bodies Natural*, whose Health, or Soundness of Body and Mind, requires the Care and Attention of the Legislature; yet, a regard to the Health and Vigour of the *Body Politic* demands the Pre-eminence; as the *whole* is more valuable than a *part*. The principal Care of every Administration, of every good Member of the Community, then should be, providing for the general *Health*, or good of the *Body Politic*, or civil Society at large; whence their Care should be extended to the Health of all the Limbs, Branches or Members, near and remote, without Distinction.

AND here, give me leave to observe, that an universal, strict and due Attention to this *unalterable Principle*

Principle of our Policy, must always effectually prevent Murmurings, Heart-burnings, Discontents, and Disaffection, the Bane of our Society ; and, in other Words, must eternally keep the *Body Politic* in an healthful and vigourous State.

A PEOPLE, thoroughly actuated by these Principles, can never be enslaved themselves, nor will they suffer any part of the rational Creation, within their Reach or Power, to be robbed of it's just Rights and Privileges ; and much less, those in Friendship and Alliance with them, and least of all, those of their Colonies or otherwise linked in the same common Bond of Affection, of Allegiance and of Interest civil and religious, though in the most remote Parts of the confederated Regions or Dominions : For, they are to be looked upon, as *Members of the same Community*.

It is this Principle, generally prevalent in human Nature, but remarkably predominant in the Bosoms of *free-born Britons*, that stirs up a generous Affection for all the brave Spirits, we read or hear of, who, in the most distant Corners of the World, have at any time made glorious Efforts to regain or re-establish their natural Freedom. This it is, that moves us to look with an awful Reverence on the great Struggles for Liberty in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Commonwealths, and make us greatly admire and upon occasion proudly, boldly emulate the matchless Virtues of our brave, wise and free Ancestors, who established such Barriers, and raised such Bulwarks, to our Liberties, as must prove certain and impregnable, while we have Virtue enough to maintain them. This noble Principle made Us open our Arms to receive and protect oppressed and persecuted *Wal-loons, Palatines, French* and *Dutch* : To this it is owing, that the Laws and Liberties of *Britain*, with some of her Natives, were transplanted to and estab-

blished in a neighbouring Nation, wherein it has
 ever been reckoned Justice and good Policy, to
 maintain them ; so that in Times of Rebellion and
 Troubles, in which Parliaments could not be freely
 called and assembled, or act with Freedom and Safety
 in that Kingdom, as in the Reigns of *Edward I.*
 and *Edward III.* and even in the Time of *Oliver*
Cromwell's Usurpation, the People had their Re-
 presentatives called into *England* to hold Parlia-
 ments, by themselves, for their own Nation, or
 joined with the *British* and *Scots* Members for the
 three Kingdoms. And finally, this noble Princi-
 ple made *England* always ready to espouse the
 Cause of *Ireland*, of which we have many memor-
 able instances on Record from the first *British* Set-
 tlement in that Kingdom ; but none more remark-
 able, than those in the Reigns of *Charles I.* and
James the II. By whose corrupt and iniquitous Go-
 vernments, Schemes were laid, and partly executed,
 to extirpate, if not the *English* name, at least the
 Protestant Religion, in that Kingdom : Then it
 was, that *Britain's* Regard to Liberty was put to
 the Test ; then it was, that *British* Benevolence
 shone forth in the most resplendent Lustre : For,
 the unhappy Fugitives from lawless Oppression and
 Persecution, from the Tyranny, Rapine and Mur-
 der, that raged and ravaged, all over *Ireland*, were
 received and cherished in *England*, as in the Bosom
 of a most tender, fond and indulgent Mother ; they
 were supported by ample Presents and liberal Pub-
 lic Contributions ; and as Occasion and Opportunity
 served, the Laity were provided for in Civil or
 Military Employments, suitable to their Ranks and
 Capacities, and the Clergy were ingrafted into the
 Body of the *English* Church, and furnished with
 comfortable Benefices ; 'till in the end, a sufficient
 Military Force was raised and sent to assist the
 loyal

loyal *Irish*, whether *Natives*, or of *English* Extraction, to restore true Religion, Peace, Liberty and Property, and to re-establish the Government; which, with the Blessing of Providence, ever attendant upon such great and noble Undertakings, happily succeeded, the great King WILLIAM III. whose Memory must be held in the utmost Reverence, as long as due Regard is paid to the established Religion and Liberties of these Kingdoms, being in the Hands of the Almighty, the chief Instrument.

WHOEVER takes the Trouble of Reading thus far, will probably desire to know something of the Author, his Intentions, and the Drift or Purport of this Performance; all which he is as desirous to impart.

As to the Author, he is of a very antient *English* Family, a Subject and Resident of *Great Britain*. He has not appeared conspicuous enough on the Stage of Life, to make his Name of such Consequence, as to give any Weight to his Writings; therefore, to avoid the Imputation of Vanity, he chuses at Present to conceal it. As the Knowledge of *Self* is the greatest and most useful Part, if not the Foundation of all worldly Knowledge; he has endeavoured to acquire as intimate an Acquaintance with himself, as with any Man living; and is never afraid or ashamed to converse with himself. In extending his Knowledge abroad, he began in regular Order, with his Country, and found the Subject so copious, so useful, so necessary, and withal so delightful, that he has not yet been able to prevail upon himself to travel through any Country, except in Theory, but those of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; of the Soil, Climate, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Trades, Constitutions and Interests of which, he has acquired a competent Knowledge; as well to make him useful to himself and his Country, as to

enable him to benefit both, by foreign Travels. With this Intent also, and for these Reasons, he has hitherto been more attentive to, and more affected by, the daily Occurrences in these Kingdoms, than by those of any Part of *Asia*, *Africa*, *America* or *Europe*, not excepting the *polite Nations*, by whose Example, those reckon'd *Well-bred* among Us, have affected to change and vary the wholesome Diet, plain Dress, simple Manners, and honest, expressive Language of their Country, how much for the better, he leaves to proper Judges. He neither does nor can enjoy a Stake in either Kingdom, he prizes equal to Liberty; and is more solicitous for the Freedom and Concord of his Fellow Subjects, than for their Opulence and Grandeur. For his System of Religion and Politics, who ever thinks it worth his while to learn that, must read further; which he presumes the rational and dispassionate Lover of his Country will venture upon, without knowing the obscure Author's Name, Birth, Parentage, Education, Stature, or Complexion.

As to his Intentions and the Purport of this premature Performance, it is no less, than to rescue *Truth* out of *Darkness*; to bring *Facts* to *Light*, in the Issue of which every Subject of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is deeply interested; to assert **PUBLIC LIBERTY**, upon the Principles of the *British* Policy, and to vindicate *Innocence*, *Virtue* and *Loyalty*, most shamefully, most cruelly injured, and oppressed in the Instance of a **LOYAL PROTESTANT**, most remarkably spoiled of every Privilege of a *free Subject*; a Precedent, which, if not timely abolished, may one Day prove fatal to the whole Community.

WHETHER this Essay may be most likely to make it's Way into the World, under the Form and Sanction of a foreign *Novel*, or a *Romance*, or of a plain *English* Narration of Historical Facts,

Facts, is a matter which I must confess myself unable to ascertain: Tho' from the Reception, the worst Writings of the former Class, that ever sullied Types, or disgraced the *English* Language, have of late met with, I must incline to think the former would have the most Readers and Admirers. But however, as the Dignity and Importance of the Subject require another Treatment, I shall adhere to plain Narrations of incontestible Facts, with artless Reasonings and Observations; let the Fate of this Paper be what it may: For, I write for the Rational, the Free and the Dispassionate; and am not less solicitous for acquitting myself, than for the Event; the former being in some Measure in my Power, the latter solely in the Disposal of Providence.

Nothing can be more surprizing, more distressing to a public-spirited Man, than to find such a general Inattention and Disregard to the Public Good, as almost universally prevails in these Nations. Few Individuals are to be found, who are not so entirely taken up with *Self-Love*, and so totally addicted to *Self-Interest*, that they are utterly unknowing in, and absolutely unconcerned for, the State of the COMMON WEALTH in general; nay, for the Counties, Cities, Boroughs or Companies of which they are immediate Members; and seek only to augment their own private, present Gain, without any Regard to the true Interest of the Community, whether present or future. From which Lethargy, such Men are only to be roused by an immediate Sense or Apprehension of personal Injury or imminent Danger.

As a more mistaken and destructive Principle than this does not prevail in Society, I think it necessary to a proper Understanding of the subsequent Lines, to confute this false and pernicious Notion,

Notion, and to shew, that the true, the only Way to promote *Self-Interest*, is by establishing the *General Interest* of Society. This will clearly appear, by taking a cursory View of the Nature and End of civil Society, and forming a just Idea of our System of Policy.

Man was formed a *rational, free, and social Animal*: By Reason, Men learned, they were *free and equal*, and that no Individual could subsist so well *singly*, as in *Society*; therefore, Men formed themselves into *Societies*, or *Communities*, which served for the good Government, Defence and Support of all the Members.

LIBERTY was the great, common BIRTH-RIGHT of all Men; and where they were formed into civil Societies, each Man's Right of Freedom was abridged, in such Proportion, as was judged expedient for the whole Community; in other Words, a *Joint Stock* was formed, into which every Member obliged himself to cast or deposit as much of his natural Liberty, as was judged necessary to raise a Fund for the mutual Ease, Strength and Security of the *whole Company*. In this State then, no Man could justly be an idle and unconcerned Spectator of what passed in Society. It was and ever must be the indispensable Duty and invariable Interest of every *Individual* to promote the Honour, Wealth and Happiness of the *whole*. Hence, every Man ~~to~~ labour in his Sphere, for the good of the *Community*; if he regards his Duty, or the Interest of that *Society*, on which, that of the *Individuals* must ever necessarily depend: For, in a well governed Society, no worthy Member can possibly be unhappy.

THE chief End of the Creation of Man, as far as it can be comprehended by finite Understandings, is for the Glory of the *Creator*, and the temporal

THEY have committed into the joint Hands of three Estates, so framed and attempered, as to be Checks, the one upon the other; THE KING, LORDS AND COMMONS, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED; which constitute the GREAT CORPORATION, or BODY POLITIC of the Nation. This will appear the most wise, the most equal, the most just, the most perfect Form of Government, that now subsists upon this Globe. A glorious Constitution! In which, all the Parts are free in their allotted Stations! All are Members of the most happy Community, and Servants one of another! Even the *first and great Estate*, the KING, tho' far greater than any of the known Monarchs of the Earth, in this, that HE GOVERNS FREE MEN, by *their own Election and Laws*, they Rule Slaves, by *arbitrary Force and Violence*; yet is HE but the FIRST and GREATEST SERVANT of the State!

THIS is that unparalleled Constitution, in which are found, all the Uses, Benefits and Excellencies of all the known Forms of Government upon Earth, without any of their Inconsistencies, Evils, or Inconveniencies. This is that wise System of Civil Society, in which the great and unalterable LAW of NATURE is enforced and established, not opposed, or contradicted; which is the sure and certain Characteristic of a perfect Government: For, according to the above recited Author, (p. 8) in the *British Polity*, previous to the Establishment of the modern Method of Parliaments, seven *original and essential* PRINCIPLES of the Constitutions, which he enumerates, were founded and established; as the *common, inviolable BIRTH-RIGHT*, the *INDEFEASIBLE HEREDITARY PRIVILEGES* of the PEOPLE. In which he observes, p. 9.

• Thus

‘ THUS did the Wisdom and Virtue of our Fore-
 ‘ fathers greatly provide for the Happiness and Glo-
 ‘ ry of their Issue! Making the *absolute Safety* of
 ‘ *their Lives, the Independence and Security of their*
 ‘ *Liberty, Property, Freedom in Trade, and other*
 ‘ *common natural Rights*, not only the UNAL-
 ‘ TERABLE BASIS of the Civil Constitution,
 ‘ but the *Evident Cause and Intent* of it’s Institution.’

AND in the 5th Address, p. 15. He calls it, ‘ a
 ‘ Frame of Government, under which every Mem-
 ‘ ber must be *Free*, while he continues *virtuous*.’
 And again, ‘ every Member of our Community has
 ‘ an *indefeasible, hereditary Right* to LIBERTIES
 ‘ and PRIVILEGES beyond those of any People
 ‘ upon Earth:—We are all by *Law*, as well as by
 ‘ *Nature*, as FREE and as INDEPENDENT as *Kings*;
 ‘ while we fulfill the Duties of our respective Stations
 ‘ and Provinces in Life:—OUR KING, in the Trust
 ‘ and Dignity of his Office, transcends all other
 ‘ *Kings and Emperors* on the Globe, as far as we ex-
 ‘ cel all other Subjects in Liberty; so, that he may,
 ‘ not unjustly, be called a KING of KINGS; while
 ‘ most of the *mighty Monarchs* of other Nations are,
 ‘ properly, but the *Masters* of some *Herds of Slaves*.’

To illustrate this most admirable Frame of Po-
 licy further, let us briefly consider the constituent
 Parts of the Government, and the Privileges and
 Advantages the Subjects enjoy under such a Consti-
 tution.

IN this then, we have first, the Advantage of all the
Monarchies or kingly Governments in the World;
 we have most of the Excellencies, and least of the
 Evils of that Form of Government; a *Sovereign* or
 supreme Magistrate, dignified with all the Honour,
 Pomp and just Power of *Majesty*; a KING, not of
indefeasible, hereditary Right and *unlimited Power*,
 as some unhappy Fools, or Slaves have contended,

but a *limited Monarch*, created BY, and acting UNDER the AUTHORITY of LAWS, made by the *voluntary Assent* and *free Sufferance* of the PEOPLE, the *Source of Sovereign Power*. This is the *first Estate* in the COMMONWEALTH. Secondly, we have the Advantage of all the known *Aristocracies*, or Governments by *Nobles*, in an *hereditary, grand Council* of Nobles, dignified with all outward Marks and Appearances of Honour and Reverence, and as much Power, and as great Pre-eminencies and Privileges, as are requisite to maintain that Rank, in the utmost Splendor; but so *limited*, as to put it out of their Power to injure or annoy, much less to incroach upon, or violate the Rights and Liberties of the *Commonalty*. This is the *second Estate* in our Government. But, the great Strength and Security of our Constitution consists, in our having a powerful Balance in the *third Estate*, against the Power of either the *First* or *Second*, separately, or jointly, should it ever so happen, that they should conspire and unite their Forces against the *Commonalty*. In this, we have the Happiness of all the *Benefits*, without the *Evils* of a *Democracy*, or a Government of *Commonalty*. In this great Council, every Man below a Peer, who is a *Freeman* or *Freeholder* within the Realm, is supposed to be virtually or actually present; that is, has a Right to be present in Person, or by Representation. The COMMONS are the *Counsellors*, the *Trustees* and *Guardians* of the People, their *Representatives*, and *stipulated Servants*.

THESE *three Estates* constitute one Body intrusted and invested with all the Powers and Privileges of the People. But, as each was instituted, not for its private Emolument, but for the common Good of the whole; so, neither can be supposed to be actuated by, or to regard or know any Interest, distinct

tingt or separate from that of the *Community*. Therefore, they are jointly and severally presumed to have no Passions, but to square their Actions by the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the KING or LEGISLATURE and the PEOPLE, or the known Laws; so as most effectually to promote and secure to the *whole Community*, and to *every individual Member* thereof, PEACE, LIBERTY, and PROPERTY; in other Words, to establish *general Order* and *good Government*, agreeable to the *original essential Principles* of our Policy, which is the sole Intent and End of the Institution.

It would be tedious, if not endless to recount the manifold Advantages accruing to the Subjects of this most excellent Government. I shall therefore, only recite a few of the most pertinent to my present Purpose; to shew how happily and effectually the *Lives, Liberties, and Properties* of the Subjects are secured, under this great and unparalleled Constitution.

No Power exists in the State, that may destroy the *Life*, invade the *Liberties*, seize or diminish the *Property* of the meanest Individual; unless he has forfeited them by Law, or has given up his *Liberty* or *Property*, or some Portion of them, for the *general Good* of the *whole Society*, to which the Interest of every *Member* is to be always subservient.

THE Life of a Member is never to be endangered, but upon his being guilty of, or chargeable with a *capital Crime*; such as *Treason, Murder, Felony*, or some *Fact* dangerous to, or destructive of Society. Even such an obnoxious Offender is Subject to *no arbitrary Power*. He cannot be even deprived of his Liberty, till some Proofs of the criminal Fact be offered upon the Oath of a credible Witness before a known Magistrate. Upon such Testimony alone, he may be confined; but,
he

he has a Right to demand being brought to a fair, open Trial, *before indifferent Judges*, the very first Opportunity, or admitted to his *Liberty* upon Bail; and it is not lawful to refuse him either.

THE Indulgence on such Trials, are known only under this Government. A Man charged with a Capital Crime, is not to be brought to a Trial, till the Information offered against him be laid before the *Grand Jury* of the County, wherein the Fact is alledged to be committed; and upon *twelve* of them agreeing, to find a Bill of Indictment against him, not otherwise, he is to stand a second Trial, by *twelve* Men more, which is Definitive. To prepare for this, he is, in some Cases, furnished with a Copy of the Indictment, that he may make his Objections and take his Defence. And he is likewise furnished with the *Pannel*, or list of those Men out of whom he is to *chuse* his Judges, to enable him to take his Exceptions at his Trial. Of these, a sufficient Number is to be summoned of the Neighbourhood, wherein the Fact is charged to be committed. The supposed Criminal is brought into an open Court, free of all Bonds, Fetters, or other painful Dureffe. Tho' the *Judges* are supposed to be of *Council* for the Criminal, yet other Council learned in the Law are assigned him. He has a Right to try the Legality and Validity of the Indictment, and, if he can shew Cause, to quash it, or set it aside. If the Indictment be found just, he stands his Trial. The *Pannel* of the Jury, of which he has been furnished with a Copy, is called over. He has a Right to challenge or object peremptorily to *twenty* of the Number, and to as many more, as he can assign just cause why they should not be admitted *his Judges*. Twelve unexceptionable Men are sworn; these are the *Jury*, whose *Verdict*, or Decree is final. Before these, the Evidence

dence of the alledged Facts in the Indictment are produced and sworn, then examined by the Prosecutors to prove the Points; and cross examined and interrogated by the Criminal to sift out the Truth. After the *Jury* have received all the Testimony, that is to be offered, on both sides, to inform their Judgement, they retire to a private Room, where they are confined, without Meat or Drink, till they all agree in a *Verdict*, which finally condemns, or acquits the Prisoner. If they acquit him fully of the Charge, he is discharged; if they find him guilty, he is allowed to offer all just Causes, why Sentence of Death or other Punishment should not be passed upon him.

THE LIBERTY of the Subject is no where so effectually secured, as under the *British* Government: For, every individual has Power to dispose of his Person and his Property, and to do whatsoever he lists, as far, as is consistent with the end of civil Society, the *Wealth, Peace, Safety, order* and *good Government* of the whole. Further than this, *natural Liberty* is not restrained by our Constitution. Nor is any Subject to be imprisoned or confined, while he acts amenable to the Laws, and fulfills the Duty of his Station: For, he cannot be deprived of his Liberty, 'till *legal Evidence* is given against him, that he has committed some Offence or Trespass against God, or *his Neighbour*, for which he cannot be supposed to be brought to Trial, till he is put into Custody of the civil Magistrate.

THE PROPERTY of the Subject is not less secure. It is so sacred, that no Power can wrest a Farthing out of the Hands of the meanest Object under Law, without his *free and voluntary Assent and Consent*, by him given in his Person, or by his *Representative*, for the general good of the whole Community;

Community ; or as it is adjudged, by due Course of Law, to atone for some Offence or Trespafs.

THE Courts, in which Proceedings are held concerning *Life, Liberty* or *Property* are many and diverse. The first, and dernier Resort, is the HIGH COURT of PARLIAMENT, which for Grandeur and Extent of Power and Priviledge, exceeds all the Courts to us known in the World. This is composed of the *three Estates* of the Realm; in this, every Individual is supposed to have a *Guardian, Council* and *Representatives*. And, as they can have no Interest to serve, separate or distinct from that of the People at large, from whom and for whom all the Honour, Power, Authority and Priviledges of the *three Estates*, separately or jointly are derived and held in Trust; so neither the whole, nor any part, of the Community can be supposed in any danger of Injury, or Injustice from their Determination. It is therefore wise and just, that an *absolute legislative* Power, and a *final Judicative* Authority, which must necessarily be placed somewhere, should be vested in this GREAT BODY.

IT is an *inherent fundamental Principle* of our Policy, conceded by the *three Estates* and confirmed in MAGNA CHARTA, that, NO FREEMAN SHALL BE TAKEN, OR IMPRISONED, OR DISSEISED OF HIS FREEHOLD, OR LIBERTIES, OR FREE CUSTOMS, OR BE OUT-LAWED, OR EXILED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED, NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR CONDEMN HIM, BUT BY LAWFUL JUDGEMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. After which, is wisely added, WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY, OR DELAY TO ANY MAN, EITHER RIGHT OR JUSTICE. By which Articles it is provided, that the *Rights* and *Liberties* of loyal Subjects should ever be held sa-

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CRED and INVIOABLE. And, that even when they became *delinquent*, they should without Distinction, receive and enjoy all the most extensive *Benefits* of the *Law*, *fully* and *freely* ; of which, being tried by their *Peers*, or Equals, *Lords* by *Lords*, *Commoners* by *Commoners*, was made a GENERAL and ESSENTIAL PRIVILEGE, which however admits of an Exception.

THE COMMONS, coming from all Quarters of the Realm, are most properly, most wisely made the GREAT INQUEST, as it were the *high*, or *general grand Jury* of the Nation. They therefore, *present* Offences, and indict, or *impeach* Offenders, of the highest kind. But, to avoid the Danger, the Inconsistency of sending Persons or Things from a *superior* to an *inferior* Court, to be tried, it has been always judged most just, that Persons *presented* or *impeached* by the *Commons*, should be *tried* by the *Lords*, whose Rank and Dignity sets them, not only above the Influence of the *Commons*, but also above any Degree of Corruption or Partiality, by which the meanest Subject may be injured in his *Life*, *Liberty*, or *Property*.

O ! THAT Men would be wise, and consider the inestimable Privileges they enjoy under this glorious Constitution ! That they would sufficiently revere and imitate the Wisdom and Virtue of their GREAT ANCESTORS, who framed this matchless System of civil Society, and handed it down full and secure to their Posterity ! A Society, in which all the Members are so firmly linked and united in one common Interest, that *one* cannot suffer without injuring or endangering the *whole* ! And the Security of the *whole* depends upon the Wisdom, Virtue and Loyalty of *Individuals* ! What can Men wish for more ? Or what Man can form an Idea of a freer or better Government ?

HERE, let me say a digressive word or two to my unhappy, mistaken Country-Men and Fellow-Subjects, who have lately raised groundless Clamours against the Government, and disturbed the Peace and Trade of these Nations. With these Men, I have entered into Conversation on these Points, in the most cool, dispassionate and unprejudiced Manner. I have heard and examined their Complaints and their Claims, and patiently and attentively read all the Papers, on which they lately founded their Hopes, and even now lay so great a stress.

Now, I never did, nor ever hope to receive any personal Favour from any King, or Minister of State. There never existed a human Power upon Earth, with which I do not, and ever shall, detest the Thoughts of Dissimulation, or Flattery. Even Female Beauty, against whose Charms, I confess, I never was Proof, never has, nor ever shall be, by me treated with any Degree of Adulation. Therefore, if I have the Fortune to gain that Credit with those, who do not know me, that Truth has every where a Right to demand ; I shall be looked upon, in the Arguments and Declarations, I am going to offer, as a Person as disinterested, as indifferent, as a good and loyal Subject of our Constitution can be.

WHAT Excuse have these Men offered for their Disaffection and Rebellion ? ———— *The extraordinary Increase of Debts, Taxes and penal Laws, and the supporting a standing Army in Times of Peace ;* added to some extravagant, vain, exploded Notions of an *indefeasible, hereditary Right* to the Crown of these Realms.

To answer the former Charge, I shall not trouble myself or the Reader, with entering into a Vindication of the Conduct of the present or past Administrations, in *increasing the National Debt, in multiplying*

plying coercive and penal Laws, or in maintaining standing Armies in Times of public Peace. I confess, they are Matters, that should ever be looked on with a jealous Eye, by a virtuous, free People. But, if the *Luxury, Corruption, Venality and Disloyalty* of the whole, or any part of the *Community*, has at any time made these *Evils* complained of, necessary, or, of all others, the most eligible, they, and they only, who did so, are to bear the Blame; and they, of all others, have no room to complain. The Government must be supported with Credit and Honour for the sake of the Nation. — If more, than is necessary for this just Purpose, has been in former Times granted, or unjustly laid out, or falsely accounted for, who were to blame? You will answer to be sure, *the Parliament*. — Who chose the *Commons*, who alone impose *Taxes*, in that *Parliament*? — It must be answered, *the Freeholders and Freemen of all the Counties, Cities and Boroughs of the Realm*. And then, it must be acknowledged, that had these *Electors* fulfilled their respective Duties, in *choosing* upon just constitutional Principles, the Men in all Respects most perfectly qualified to *serve* them in Parliament, without Regard to the Dictates or Influence of Power or Fortune, Party or Faction, and *instructing* them in the true Interest and just Sense of the *Community*, this supposing it to be an Evil, would not stand an Object of their Complaint. But, it is notorious, that in those Parts of this Kingdom, most remarkable for their Discontent and Disaffection, the *Voices* of *Electors*, even of the Places of *returning Officers* of Corporations, preparatory to an Election, have been openly sold by *Auction* in the Public Streets. Horrid, detestable and destructive Commerce! Yet these very Men are foremost in the Cry against the *Public Debts*! The same Arguments

will shew these Men's Opposition to *penal Laws* and *standing Armies* in the same Light. Besides, Disloyalty must be punished; and they that will not peaceably submit to the Determination of the *civil Power*, make a *military Force* absolutely necessary.

WHEN these Men so palpably over-look the Causes of the complained-of Grievances, no wonder they should widely mistake the Remedy. I do not judge it necessary at present to trouble an intelligent Reader with a Disquisition on the Nature of these Grievances, to shew whether, or how far, they may be *real* or *imaginary*. I shall, in this Case, take it for granted, that they are *real*; and shall content myself with shewing the Falsehood and Fallacy, or Folly, of those, who imputed *them* to what they vainly call, the *breaking the Line of Succession*; and propose, as the only effectual Remedy, what they falsely and artfully, or weakly, not to say impiously and traitorously, call a *Restoration*.

EVERY thinking Man must look upon the Parliament, as the *Guardians* of the *national Constitution*. In them, a *sovereign, incontrollable Power* is necessarily lodged. This Power is, at all times and upon all Occasions, to be exerted for the Good of the Community; the Illustration, Establishment, and Support of the Constitution, in all Points, and can be applied to no other Purpose, without Prostitution, without subverting the Foundation, or frustrating the End of the Institution of Parliaments.

CAN we suppose any *Body Politic*, and much less the first and greatest, the CORPORATION of the REALM, destitute of Means of perpetuating it's self, by providing for a lawful Succession of *Head and Members*?—It is impossible. The Being and Succession of the *second Estate* is appointed and provided for by the Crown, the *first Estate*: The Being of the *third Estate* is supplied by the Elections

Elections of the People. *These two* can therefore, never possibly want Means of Existence, while the Community subsists, and consequently the Kingdom must be always provided with a regular Succession of *Lords and Commons*. But the *first Estate*, being vested in a sole Person, is liable to more Accidents. The Throne may become vacant for Want of *lawful Heirs*, by an entire *Failure* or total *Extinction* of *legitimate Issue*; by a *Resignation*, *Renunciation*, or by an absolute *Cession* or *Abdication*. What is to be done in such Cases? Is our Constitution compleat, if it wants Means of repairing natural or accidental Breaches, or of providing an *Head* to the *Body Politic*? Must not such a Power be placed somewhere? And where can it be so properly or safely placed, as in the *hereditary Council* of the *Crown*, and in the *chosen Representatives* of the *People*?

THEN, on the other Hand, let it be considered, that the *first Estate* is invested with the Power of *assembling*, *adjourning*, *proroguing*, or *dissolving* the other *two Estates* in Parliament, consequently, he may put a full Stop to the Consultations and Proceedings of *both Houses*, when he apprehends them acting inconsistently with the separate Rights of each other, or the Good of the Community: And shall the *two others* be absolutely destitute of that Balance of Power, which is evidently necessary to the Well-being of the whole, of restraining the male Conduct of the *first*, to obviate or remedy such Evils, as may accrue to the whole from the undue or illegal Administration of the regal Power? I hope there lives not in *Great Britain* at this Day a Man, *Slave* enough to answer these plain and simple Questions in the Affirmative! There is not any Man conversant in our History, that must not confess, that Kings have always been looked upon in this Light: That Parliaments have
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at all times occasionally dethroned and appointed Kings, and directed and limited the Succession to the Throne ; and that those Kings, who most strongly insisted on the Claims of *hereditary Right*, even the first of the *Stuarts*, always preferred a *parliamentary Right*, and obtained *Acts of Recognition* of their Title, as the only sure Foundation for the Throne. The old reversed and abused Maxim, *à Deo Rex, à Rege Lex*, is now happily restored and duly understood ; *A Deo Lex, à Lege Rex* : The Voice of the People is the Voice of GOD, from whence issue LAWS and GOVERNORS.

MOREOVER, every King, who comes to the *British* Throne, must know the Terms on which he enters upon the Office. He must be supposed to know the Constitution so far, as to see, that he derives all his Honour, Power and Authority from the Laws, which he must therefore look upon as inviolable. Before the Subjects enter into any Bond of *Allegiance* to him, he renews the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the KING and PEOPLE, on his Part, in taking the *Coronation Oath*. No Subject can plead Ignorance of the Law to exculpate him of a Breach of his *Allegiance*, or Duty to the Constitution. For a single Act of *Treason*, a Subject loses his *Life* ; and as a further Penalty, his Heirs are not allowed to enjoy his *Property* ; both are forfeited. And shall a King, with Impunity to him and his Heirs, violate the *Oath*, the *original Compact* and every other Duty of a King ? Shall he rob Individuals of their most sacred Rights and Privileges, and overturn the established Religion and Polity of his Kingdoms ? Shall he attempt to impose a *Spurious* Heir to the Crown upon the People, or deprive them of that Assurance of the *Legitimacy* of his Issue, which the Constitution requires ? Who can look a little back and not see these Evils, and

and the dreadful Consequences, which we have, by God's Providence, in the REVOLUTION, happily escaped? And who is so wretched, so forlorn a *Slave* in *Britain*, as to bear to court the Return of such dismal Times? Or, to think that the Author and Abettors of such Distraction and Confusion, such Oppression and Tyranny, such a total Subversion or Effacing of our Constitution, should not be punished in their *Persons*, in their *Properties*, in their *Posterity*?

LET these Hints be but considered and improved, as they may, by rational and dispassionate Minds, and then, they must discover the meaning and Intention of those, who have and still do talk of, a *Restoration*! — Their gross Perversion and Abuse of which Word, demands our Animadversion.

THIS unhappy, deluded People, affect to write and talk of nothing more than of a *Restoration* of their *pretended Prince*. And as an infallible *Salvo* for all the real or imaginary Grievances and Evils they can represent and magnify in the State, they recommend and prescribe this, upon the Assurance of a general Redress, which they tell you is given in the only Security, they receive or offer, what they call, *the sacred Word of their natural Prince*.

WHEN any Men are able to point out *illegal Breaches* made in the *national Constitution*, any *Interruptions* in the established *Form* or *Manner* of *Government*, in KING, LORDS and COMMONS, or in *Trials* of *Life*, *Liberty* and *Property* by JURIES; to labour to bring about a *Restoration*, by all just means, will be the undoubted Interest and Duty of every Subject. In this Sense only it is, that good Subjects, in obedience to an Act of Parliament, celebrate the 29th of *May* 1660, not for the Restitution of the King alone, but for the putting an
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End to the great Rebellion and for restoring the antient Government of these Nations.

BUT, laying aside the *Treason* and downright Wickedness of talking of a *Restoration*, in the Sense of these unhappy deluded Men, it is as absurd, as illegal and as impolitical, as attempting to restore the Issue of any *condemned Traitor, Rebel, or other attainted Offender*, of the *Legitimacy* and *Loyalty* of whose Issue, we had all the Proofs the Law required; which is more than these weak or crafty Men can say for their *pretended*, or as they affect to call him, *their natural Prince*; a Phrase of very doubtful, if of any Meaning: For, it is certain, there can be no *Sovereign* or Prince in a *State of Nature*. The Word *natural*, then, can in this Respect imply no more than when we apply it to a *Child* born in a *State of Nature*, or an *Idiot*; in which Sense it is opposed to *legitimate*, or *Wise*. In either Sense, Male-contents and Rebels are, for me, welcome to call the *Pretender* or his Son, a *natural Prince*; while I join with all those, who wish well to the LIBERTIES, to the CONSTITUTION of *Britain*, in blessing God, that we live under a *legitimate*, or CONSTITUTIONAL KING, whose best Title to the Crown is from the Voice of the People in Parliament; and in praying that our Constitution may continue, in this and all other Respects, in the same Purity and Vigour; that we may ever retain a grateful Remembrance of the HAPPY REVOLUTION in 1688, which restored and established our overturned Constitution, our civil and religious Liberties, and that we may never stand in need of another!

BUT, if ever there should be just Cause to complain of the Grievances of *running the Nation unjustly and unnecessarily in Debt; of squandering the Public Treasure, and passing no regular or fair Account, of making or multiplying anticonstitutional penal Laws; of keeping up an excessive and burdensome Number*

ber of standing Forces in Times of general Peace, or of any other destructive and illegal Measures ; whom shall we blame ? And from whom shall we expect or demand a Reformation ? —Ourselves, and from Ourselves only :—A King, who acts but by and with the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, is not to be blamed. Such a King may possibly have a corrupt and wicked Ministry unknown to him. But, if ever any Ineroachment be made on the Liberties or Properties of the Subject, and pass unpunished, unredressed, it is more than probable, the People themselves will be found principally to blame : For, if they elect wisely and freely, they will assuredly be served justly and faithfully. But, if ever they appoint Members foolishly, slavishly or corruptly, they may expect to be bartered and sold like Slaves, for the private Gain of the Purchaser, and they will deserve no better Fate. If we should have the Misfortune to fall into such Circumstances, it would be most vain and absurd to trust or call to any Prince, natural or legitimate, for Reformation or Restoration : That must begin in the People. Let every Man begin at home ; let every Elector reform one Man ; let him be made Proof against the Allurements of Pomp and Fortune, of Bribe, Place and Pension, of the Smiles and Menaces of the Great, and then a lapsed or broken Constitution, if that should ever be our Case, must soon be effectually reformed and restored, by the free Election of wise and VIRTUOUS COMMONS. O ! great and inestimable Government ! Founded in Wisdom, upon LIBERTY ! And to be supported against foreign and domestic Enemies, and when lapsed, or broken, to be reformed or restored, by the Virtue and Loyalty of your own FREE SUBJECTS !

It is a comfortable Consideration, that Tyranny can never prevail under the British Government, 'till Corruption so far depraves the Minds of the
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People, as to make them insensible of the Good of Society, and of the invaluable Blessings of Liberty. If ever that happens, then *Slavery*, that hateful Bane of Society, that horrid Reproach to rational Creatures, will, like a raging Pestilence, make a sudden and incontrollable Progress through the State. Who, that loves his Country or his Kind, does not shudder at the bare Recital! And since *Corruption* is the only Inlet, by which *Slavery* can invade our Constitution, what Diligence and Care should every Man exert, to banish that most destructive Vice from his own Bosom, as well as that of his Neighbour!

As *Tyranny* and *Slavery* are incompatible with the very Essence of our natural, as well as political Constitution; we cannot be too careful in keeping them out of our Country, out of our Neighbourhood: For, their Influence is not less contagious, than that of the Plague. What Pains does common Policy prompt us to take, to guard against the Contagion of any *epidemic* Distemper, that is found destructive only to the Bodies of Men or Brutes? And shall we take less Pains to ward off a *Contagion*, that must in the End destroy the Bodies and Souls of Men, and all that can make Life desirable, nay, overturn the whole Frame of civil Government?

For my part, such and so strong is my Detestation of *Slavery*, that I can never hear the Sound of the Word without Horror; that I never can hear of it's being imposed upon the meanest and remotest Fellow-Creature, without inexpressible Anxiety; upon any Subject of the Nations in Alliance with us, without Terror; upon any of the most distant Fellow-Subjects, without a Mixture of Dread and Indignation.

WHEN I reflect, that the first open Attempt to enslave the *Roman* People was practised upon the remote Territories of that COMMONWEALTH,
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and that from thence, the Infection gradually and easily extended all over the *Roman* State; I can never hear of the slightest Invasion made on the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of *Ireland*, or even on those of *America*, but straight I feel the Injuries of the oppressed, for them and for my Country, in general: For, if these Regions, especially the former, be infected with the fell Contagion of *Slavery*, I know not what *Quarentine* will be sufficient to keep the Infection from *Great Britain*.

IRELAND is a Kingdom under our Crown, and strictly and inseparably connected with this Realm. The Inhabitants are for the most part descended from *English* Families; live under the same System of Common Law, the like Form of Government, Civil and Ecclesiastic; whereby they are intitled to the same Rights, Liberties, Priviledges and Immunities with the *British* Subjects; so that by the Bond of Nature, as well as of true Religion and good Policy, we are to look upon them, to all Intents and Purposes, as Brethren, and Fellow-Subjects.

I AM not yet passed the Meridian of Life, and yet I can remember the Time, when it was the Language of Men in Power in this Kingdom, *that Ireland was an useless Burden to Great Britain; that it were better for the latter, the former never had Being, or that she were sunk an hundred Fathoms under Water.* Thank God! We have lived to see better Policy prevail. We see *Ireland* is well able to pay all that has been expended in establishing or supporting the *English* Government in that Realm. And we find ourselves daily reaping the good Fruits of the Industry and Loyalty of that People. We see it is our Interest to encourage their Trade and Commerce; since, we find, the Riches of that Nation always centers with us. They can have no

Interest to serve, opposite to ours : They are actuated and bound by the same Principles and System of Religion and Policy ; and as no other Power on Earth, is or can be so well able as *England*, to support them in both ; so, we have the firmest Bonds imaginable, not only for their *Allegiance*, but for their invariable *Love, Friendship* and *Fidelity* to our Government ; while they are protected in the full Enjoyment of their just *Rights* and *Liberties*.

THOUGH then, *England* might and probably would subsist if *Ireland* never had Being ; it is surely strange Policy to wish that Kingdom destroyed, or even to suffer the least Change or Variation to be produced in their legal System of Government ; the full Enjoyment of which can alone connect them inseparably to ours, and make it their invariable Interest, as well as Duty, to labour with equal Diligence to support our Establishment, as their own.

If these Arguments be of any Weight, no *free Briton*, can think the Liberties of his Country equally secure, when those of *Ireland* are invaded, as when they are maintained and preserved in their just Extent and Vigour.

WHAT shall we say then, if it should appear, that the LIBERTIES of our ALLIES, of our FRIENDS, of our FELLOW SUBJECTS, of our BROTHERN of *I—d* are invaded, nay, almost overturned. Not by us, not by the Force of *foreign Invaders*, not by *Scotch*, or *Irish Rebels* ; but, by a Power much more formidable, more to be dreaded, in these Nations ; the *Degeneracy* of her *Sons*, and the *Corruption* of her *M—s* in a *long P—t* ! A Power against which, we should all keep a stronger and more watchful Guard, than against the confederate Potentates of *Europe*, or the *Globe* !

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A Power, which if it should ever be raised among us, would, no doubt, be much to be lamented and would call forth our strictest Attention.

As I wish well to the general Freedom of Mankind, I have extream Pleasure in hearing of any Attempt to regain the just Freedom of the most distant Fellow-Creature. But, the highest and truest Pleasure I can enjoy, is seeing a rational and loyal Scheme of Restoring or Preserving the Liberties of my Countrymen, vigorously and resolutely carried into Execution.

I CONFESS I did not know the People of *Ireland* well enough to suspect, that a Reformation would begin there; especially in that *fundamental Pillar* of our Constitution, the ELECTION of *Members of Parliament*; on which the very *Essence* of our Government depends.

THE Reader may then conceive, how agreeably I was surpris'd with finding the following uncommon Advertisement in one of the *Dublin News-Papers*, which I always read with more Care and Attention, than the *Amsterdam Gazette*, or even the *Paris A-la-main*.

TO the FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the City of DUBLIN.

BRETHREN and FELLOW CITIZENS,

AT the Instance of several of my Friends and Fellow Citizens, I am induced thus publicly to declare, what has ever been an established Principle with me; that I am always ready and willing to serve the PUBLIC in every Office of Trust, which I am judged capable of discharging, and to which I am fairly and regularly called, by the *unbiassed, uninfluenced Voices* of a FREE and INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.

FROM

FROM this Motive, I offer myself a Candidate for the Place of a Citizen to represent You in Parliament ; where I may be enabled to vindicate those RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of which you have been stripped, and for which I have hitherto contended, against the HIGHEST POWERS, in a *lower Sphere*.

IF I shall be deemed worthy of this Trust, the true Interest and Honour of the City shall ever be my chief Care, and YOUR INSTRUCTIONS shall ever be the invariable Guide of all the Actions of

Your most affectionate Brother,

and Fellow Citizen,

and

most faithful Servant,

C. Lucas.

So much of the antient *British* Spirit of Liberty which founded, framed and established the Constitutions of these Nations, and without which they cannot possibly long subsist, as this *Advertisement* breathed, I had not seen in my Time, in any Address of the Kind.

THOUGH I was at first pleased, nay, transported at the Sight, I soon fell into a kind of Suspicion or Despondency of the Seriousness and Reality of the *Advertisement*. And began to look upon it for a while, as a visionary Project, a Flourish of some lively, free Imagination, or at best an *Eutopian* Scheme, which looked well in Theory, but could have had no Foundation in Practice.

IN this Opinion I was some time pretty well confirmed, by Letters from some credible Correspondents in *Dublin*, which answered my Enquiries concerning the Reality of this Man, of which I had
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some doubt, with informing me, that there was, indeed, such a Man, as CHARLES LUCAS, in that Town; but that he had none of the ordinary, by which they meant the *outward* requisites for a *Candidate*. That he had neither Fortune, nor the Men in Power of his Side; that he was remarkable for nothing, but Knowledge and Integrity in the Profession of an *Apothecary*, and public Spirit enough to keep any Man poor and low in the World; that for these, he had been formerly reckoned a *Madman*, by some of the *Great Men*, and that since his publishing this Advertisement, the Report gained Credit universally.

UPON such Accounts as these, which were quickly multiplied from all Quarters, I quitted, though with Reluctance, the pleasing, visionary Prospect.

BUT, soon after, I heard, this same *Apothecary* commenced Author, that he made public *Orations* to the several Corporations or Companies of *Dublin* in their respective Halls, and published several *Addresses* to the *Freemen* and *Freeholders* of that City, I had a Curiosity to see some of his Performances, and to know the Sense of the Public in Relation to them: Therefore, I had all that came out under his Name, and all that was wrote against them, sent me every Post, together with an exact Account of all the public Proceedings in that City, with Relation to the Election and Candidates, by the most knowing and faith-worthy Correspondents.

I WAS soon convinced that the Matter bore a serious Aspect. I perceived, that this obscure, despised Man had acquired a most extensive and extraordinary Knowledge of the Constitution of these Realms and their respective Relations to each other; that he was intimately conversant with the History and Constitution of *Dublin*, and of the several Companies of the City; that he knew the Office
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and Duty, and the Extent of the Power and Authority of the supreme and subordinate Magistrates, and the Sum and Substance of the Rights, Privileges, as well as of the Allegiance and Duty of the Subjects. His Writings convinced me, that he had a warm, active Zeal for the Liberty of his Country, and an undaunted Resolution to assert it, upon all Occasions ; for, he subscribed his Name to all his Papers.

In a few Months, it appeared, that his Labours, however, at first, unpromising of Success, and to himself, hazardous, were not fruitless: The People were glad to find, by his Doctrine, that they were not *Slaves*, by Law, or Right, tho' they had been long kept *such*, by Fraud or Force. He opened their Eyes, and they gladly and gratefully received the enlivening Light of Liberty ; and they determined to chuse this bold Adventurer in the yet doubtful Cause, to represent them in Parliament.

THIS evidently appeared, by the many extraordinary Marks of public Favour conferred on him ; For, if the public Papers, confirmed by the most authentic private Letters, may be credited, he was most generously complimented with his Freedom of *twenty-one*, out of *twenty-four Corporations* ; some in *Rings*, others in *Gold or Silver Boxes*. Most of these Corporations or Companies also remarkably interposed in his Favour, when the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs* and *Commons* of this City, endeavored to lessen Mr. *Lucas*, by censuring some of his Writings ; then they bravely stood forth in Defence of their Champion and Advocate, shewed and voted the *Proceedings* of his Antagonists to be *unjust, oppressive, illegal, and arbitrary*, and *averse* to the Sense of the *Citizens*, the *Constituents* of the *Common Council* ; ordered their Thanks to be publicly presented to Mr. *Lucas*, with the most solemn Assurances of all lawful Assistance and Support in
his

his glorious Endeavours to recover the suppressed Freedom and Rights of the Citizens.

THUS, what at first was treated lightly and contemptuously, now became a Matter of Weight and Importance. Mr. *Lucas's* two Antagonists, the *Candidate Aldermen*, soon fled and left him Master of the Field of Battle; so, that his Election, with that of Mr. *Digges La Touche*, was looked upon, by all Sides, as absolutely, incontestably secure.

To see Virtue, though in the lowest Obscurity, meritoriously rewarded, must be grateful to every benevolent Heart. But, after we have lived to see *Electors* shamefully prostituted, and *Elections* bought and sold, like *Stocks*, as in some former Times, when those, reputed the freest Elections, were obtainable only by the *great*, or *opulent*, and that at a most exorbitant Expence, as well, in *Great Britain*, as *Ireland*; after this, I say, to see a People, in so short a Time, restored to so just a Sense of Liberty and Loyalty of their true Interest, and Duty, as to become totally unmindful of all opposite, private Regards and Attachments, and to determine to *elect*, upon true Principles, a *low mean Man*, in the ordinary Estimation, in pure Consideration of his intrinsic Virtue and just Qualifications only, is such an extraordinary Instance of Reformation or Restoration to the pure, primitive Principles of the *British* Constitution, as demands the Applause, the Countenance, the Support of every true Son of *Britain*. What must such then feel, when they find, that this Man's Election is not only obstructed and defeated, but that the Spirit of *Liberty*, nay, the common Principles of *Justice* and *Law* are actually suppressed in *I—d*; and that this unhappy Man so far shares the usual Fate of Reformers, as to have fallen a Victim to the Rage of a most despicable *Faction*! For, the *V—s* of the *H—se* of *C—s* of *I—d*,
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shew, that he was *accused* and *condemned*, upon broken Sentences of his *supposed* Writings, *unheard*, and without any *legal Evidence* against him; that he was voted *an Enemy to his Country*, without being admitted to a *Justification* of himself; and ordered to be prosecuted in an *inferior Court*! Nay, before the very *Judges*, of whose Proceedings he complains to the Lord Lieutenant and to the KING!

I MUST declare, this alarms me more, than could the Landing an hostile armed Force upon their Coasts. It is *Corruption* and consequent *Slavery* alone, not *Force* and *Violence*, whether intern or extern, that can overturn our Government. If then, we can be uncharitably regardless of the matchless Sufferings of the innocent Man, if we can possibly be unmoved with the Subversion of the established Government of *I——d*, are we not, in good Policy, bound to take the same Precaution, to which the worst natured Man alive would have Recourse, if his next Neighbour's House was on Fire?

BEFORE this Nation obtained any Interest in *Ireland*, our brave, free Ancestors did not think it beneath them to sail to that Kingdom, and to fight the Battles of the oppressed, to avenge Wrongs and restore Right. Upon such an Occasion it was, that we first got footing in that Land, and by Degrees brought it under Subjection to the Crown of *England*. Upon every Attempt to disturb their Peace or violate the Freedom and Rights of this People, now intimately blended with those of our Blood and Nation, we have ever been tenderly and politically touched with a Sense of their Dangers or Sufferings, and have never failed sending them seasonable and sufficient Succours in their Distresses. And shall we regard them less, after they

they have proved themselves, in all Respects, true and worthy Descendents of *Britain*? God forbid!

PERHAPS every Man does not see this Matter in the light in which I behold it : It appears to me, that this CHARLES LUCAS, of whom I know as little, as most Men, that know him at all, is struck at, to countenance the universally prevailing *Corruption*, in that Kingdom; that the Liberties of the Subject are ravished, and the whole Nation grievously wounded, if not absolutely *enslaved*, in him; if so, one of the *growing Bulwarks* of the *British* Liberties is beaten down, or at least, one of the *Out-works*, or *Barriers* between *Great Britain* and *Slavery*, is, in the present Case of I——d, levelled and effaced.

BUT, to make this more intelligible to those, who are not very conversant with the present Circumstances of that poor Country, it will be necessary to give a more minute Account of the Affairs of that Kingdom, with regard to the late Vacancy and Election of M——rs for the City of D——n, and to the late Proceedings of the H——e of C——s, upon Mr. *Lucas's* Writings.

THESE Writings, I find, are very voluminous, by the Collection I have made. The first Tractate I find of his Writing is dated in the Year 1735. It is intitled, a *short Scheme for preventing Frauds and Abuses in Pharmacy, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Legislature*. Upon this, I find, the Parliament founded and passed an Act, subjecting *Apothecaries' Shops*, &c. to be visited and examined, and to have bad *Drugs* and *Medicines* seized and destroyed, as in this City.

THOUGH this extraordinary Instance of public Spirit, *beginning at home* and reforming his own Profession, deserved the utmost Applause and Encouragement; yet I find this poor Man, was suffer-

ed to fall under the Weight of the united Rage of his Brethren, who combined, and whose Influence stirred up the Enmity of the other Branches of the Profession against him.

HOWEVER, with uncommon Diligence and Assiduity, he struggled through the Difficulties opposed to him; and was so far from being discouraged in his Duty, by the ill Treatment he generally received, that in the Year 1741, he published a Pamphlet called, *PHARMACOMASTIX, or the Office, Use and Abuse of Apothecaries explained, the present degenerate State of Pharmacy, with it's manifold Corruptions and Adulterations considered, and some Essays on Reforming the same, &c.*

THIS so far answered his Ends, as to cause the Act to be continued, though with no Amendment. But, the Return he received for all his Trouble, in writing and attending the Parliament, was to be pronounced a *Madman*; for appearing public spirited, honest and disinterested! Yet, we find all this did not, could not shock his good Purposes. For,

THIS Year, he happened to be appointed one of the *Common-Council* of *Dublin*. Then it was, that he discovered and detected the Frauds, Abuses and Usurpations of the *Aldermen* of that City, which he afterwards shewed in a very strong Light, in two Pamphlets Published in the Year 1743; the one, *REMONSTRANCE against certain Infringements of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons and Citizens, &c.* The other, *DIVELINA LIBERA: An Apology for the civil Rights and Liberties of the Commons and Citizens of Dublin.*

THESE could not fail, in an ignorant and corrupt State, of gaining Mr. *Lucas* many powerful Enemies, particularly, in the then *Recorder*, whose Conduct he freely and fully laid open and who has since appeared

appeared one of his most violent Persecutors. Yet, he bravely persevered against all the most powerful Opposition; and with some few of his Brethren of the *Commons*, begged for Money to prosecute the *Rights* of the *Corporation*, against the *Usurpers*, and brought it into the Court of *King's Bench* in the Year 1744. Here again, his Attempts for the Public Good were foiled: For, as he tells us, in his next Paper, "the *Judges* peremptorily refused to admit them to a Trial."

BUT, see how invincible the true Spirit of Liberty appears, under all Disadvantages and Oppositions! He drew up a State of the melancholy Case of the Subjects of that Kingdom under *arbitrary Judges*, dependent for their Places, on the *absolute Will* of the *Ministry*. This he intended, as he has declared, to lay before that great Patriot Lord Lieutenant, whose wise and just Administration in *Ireland*, in a most critical Conjunction, has rendered him as highly loved and revered in that Kingdom, as his inviolable Regard to the Liberties of his Country and his unwearied Endeavours to support them, will ever make him justly admired and esteemed in this. But, from this, Mr. *Lucas* was unfortunately dissuaded, by some Friends, he consulted on the Occasion. And it is said, he would never have published it, through Despondency of Success, from former Discouragements and Sufferings, had not this *Denial* of *Justice* to *Dublin* been likely to be made a Precedent for another unhappy Corporation.

THIS, we are told, urged Mr. *Lucas* to publish his COMPLAINTS of *Dublin*; which he addressed and delivered in Person, to the Succeeding Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Of this, we are told his Excellency took little or no Public Notice. But, to avoid further Application, Care was, by some Means,

Means, taken to prevent Mr. *Lucas's* ever after gaining Access to that noble *Viceroy*.

UPON this, Mr. *Lucas* wrote a most respectful Letter to his *Excellency*, and deposited it in the Secretary's Office, expostulating upon being denied the Right of a Subject, in laying Complaints of public Grievances before the SUPREME MAGISTRATE, or his *Representative*. But, this had no better Fate : It was indeed handed about the *Castle*, and copied by several ; so, that at last, it fell into the Hands of a Printer, who to make a Penny of it, Published it with an odd, humourous Preface, and an hieroglyphical Frontispiece, under the Title of SOME BODY'S Letter to some Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

IN the former Paper, Mr. *Lucas* plainly demonstrates the Iniquity of the then *Judges* ; what this Kingdom has often suffered by the *Corruption* and *Servility* of dependent and mercenary *Judges* ; how rigorously they were punished, by hanging in the great ALFRED'S Time, forty in one Year, by hanging many others since, and by banishing some into *Ireland*, where, *he Humbly presumes, they Propagated*.

IT is easy to conceive what numerous and powerful Enemies, this must have raised to Mr. *Lucas*. Before, he had many declared Friends upon the Benches, most of whom were now turned to the Reverse ; particularly the *chief Justice*, who upon other Occasions, has been heard to compliment Mr. *Lucas*, with telling him publicly, that *he was an Honour to his Country, and an Ornament to his City ; that the Government in general were highly obliged to him for his Courage and Public Spirit, and the Judges in particular*. But, when his *Lordship* found, that *Lucas* was no *Temporiser*, and that he paid no *Respect* to *Persons*, but reduced the Enemies of the Liberties of his Country, of all Denominations,

tions, to one contemptible Class, in which he ranked and held his *Right Honourable chief Flatterer*; then his *Lordship* threw off the Mask; his *Choler* rose, and his *Malice* boiled over upon all Occasions, against Mr. *Lucas*, whom he frequently reviled and insulted even from the *Bench*, and publickly threatened with every violent Persecution. But, his Fury was raised to yet a higher Pitch than Words, as we shall shew in the Sequel.

MR. LUCAS unmoved to any thing, but Perseverance, by this Treatment, thought it best to strengthen his Cause, by informing the Public of a true State of their Constitutional Rights. And, judging Men's Attention more awake, when there is a Vacancy in their Seats in Parliament, he took that Opportunity of explaining the Constitution of the Kingdom and City, in several *Addresses* and *Letters* to the *Citizens* and *Freeholders*.

He Published *twenty Addresses* on these Subjects; the two last of which, to wit, the *Nineteenth* and *Twentieth*, contain an Abstract of all the precedent, and a Vindication of them from the disingenuous Interpretations of a certain *Gentlemen*, who wrote against them, under the Title of the *Cork Surgeon*, and others.

In explaining the Constitution of the City, he found it necessary to transcribe, translate and publish one of the Charters of the City. This he dedicated to the KING, as the *Founder* and *Guardian* of all inferior *Bodies Politic*. And in his Dedication, states the principal Public Grievances of the Nation and City, in the most respectful, loyal and dutiful Manner, and shews how he was put under the invincible Necessity of appealing thus to HIS MAJESTY, by the *Judges* denying to do *Justice*, and by the *Lord Lieutenant's* paying no Regard to his *Complaints*.

THIS,

THIS, he presented, with an Introductory *Address*, to the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, on the late Anniversary of his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. Their *Excellencies* received Mr. *Lucas* politely, accepted of his Book for the King, with one for each of themselves, gratefully ; but, gave no positive Promise of transmitting it, as desired, to his Majesty.

THIS Book was said to be seen in the Secretary's Office, and it was upon that reported and generally believed, it had been sent in due Course, to the L—— L———t. This was confirmed by some *Irish* Gentlemen, who told, upon their Return from *London*, that his E———y said he had received Mr. *Lucas's* Dedication to the King.

HOWEVER, in a few Days after the Lord P——te's Return from *England*, this Book was returned to Mr. *Lucas* by Secretary L——n, with an Answer from their E———s, after above a Month's Consideration ; *that they did not think proper to send it to the King*. Which shews, *they* would have the Subjects believe, that nothing is to be laid before his Majesty, but what *they*, his Ministers and Servants, think fit ! Though this was heretofore deemed a Crime, for which some of their Predecessors were brought to condign Punishment !

It might, not unreasonably, be imagined, that less powerful Opposition might cool the Courage and damp the Zeal of this most indefatigable Assertor of Liberty. But, to our Astonishment ! We find, that, in this, it rather raised and inflamed both !

Now, the utmost Vengeance, Violence and Outrage were from all Quarters openly denounced and menaced against Mr. *Lucas* ; yet, he pursued his wonted Course and Purposes, with inflexible Steadiness and Uniformity. Among many other Evils, those

those that have since been perpetrated, were publicly threatened to be inflicted, the first Day of the Session, if the *L—d L———t* did not take a shorter Method before the Meeting of *P———t*. And it is now no Secret here, that the Chief Measures, since taken against Mr. *Lucas*, were concerted by some of the Heads of the *Junto* of his *I—sb* Persecutors at several Meetings in *London*.

MANY of Mr. *Lucas*'s Friends were frightened by the Weight of Power, now ready to be let loose upon him. He himself stood unmoved, his Friends say, immoveable.

AMIDST this Commotion in the City, Intimations were given, another public spirited Writer, who ventured, at much Hazard, to imbarque in Mr. *Lucas*'s Cause, that if they would in some of their Papers, but pay some Compliment to a certain renowned Commander in *Scotland*, or recommend the History of his great *Exploits* and Military *Atchievements*, commonly called, *his TRYAL*; it would stop the Progress of the impending Persecution. But, this moved no other Passion than Contempt or Indignation in either Bosom; so each steadily pursued the firm Purposes of free and loyal Hearts.

MR. *LUGAS* determined to leave no Stone unturned, that stood in the Way of bringing the Charter and Dedication before the King. He therefore wrote an *Address* to the *L— L———t*, had it printed, and one prefixt to the Charter for the King, and another to the Copy, for his *E———y*; and, with a Set of the *Addresses* to the Citizens, presented them to him at the *C—e*, the 3d Day of *October*.

HIS *E———y* thankfully accepted of the Papers, and gave Mr. *Lucas* an Opportunity of acquitting himself of the Aspersions thrown upon him,

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by

by some Men in Power. He applauded the Sentiments of *Liberty* and *Loyalty*, Mr. *Lucas* expressed upon the Occasion, and recommended to him the manifesting them in his future Writings and Conduct; which he cheerfully promised to perform, and departed, with Leave to wait upon his E——y again. But, upon his coming to the C——e to pay his *Devoirs* and receive his E——y's Answer, he was publickly turned out of the *Levee*, by an Officer, upon the L— L——t's Command.

THIS was an unexpected Return for the utmost Respect, that could be shewn or expressed to the chief G——r. But, it was so far from dismaying or discouraging Mr. *Lucas*, that, the next Day, he published the Story in one of the public Papers, with *his Thanks* to his E——y for the Honour he did him. And the Day following, he published the *Address* to the L— L——t, with a PREFACE to the free and independent Citizens of *Dublin*, and to the free and loyal Subjects of *Ireland*; which fully explains and vindicates Mr. *Lucas's* whole Conduct.

Now, every *Courtier* in Complaisance to the *Court*, carried Fury in his Looks, and breathed nothing but Rage, Resentment and Vengeance against so daring a Fellow, as this *Lucas*, who would not, *passively, tamely*, lay down his Neck to be trod on, even by the K—g's V—e-G——t. Consultations were called upon Consultations, to consider of some effectual Means to prevent this *insufferable Freeman's* Election. *Placemen, Pensioners* and *fawning Court-Dependents* of all Denominations, crowded and jostled each other for the foremost Rank, and the best Expedient for the wished-for Purpose.

MANY and various were the Means of Persecution proposed; none of which was one Hour a Secret. That *Lucas* must be elected, by a vast Majority

majority of the *Citizens*, was taken, on all Sides, for granted. The Deliberation of these *wise, good* Men then, ran upon the preventing this Election, if possible. But, if that could not be done, with Ease and Security, under the *Advice* of the *sage* and *upright Judges*, and the *Influence* of *three Regiments* of the *standing Army*; his Election was to be declared void, or he was to be upon some Pretext, not yet discovered, *expelled* the House, as soon, as he should be returned.

ON these Deliberations, some slight Debates arose, both at the *C—le*, and at the *Sp—r's*, and as well, as in some private Meetings of a *Junto*, formed for the Purpose. Some said, there were no lawful or Parliamentary Means of obstructing, or interfering with an Election, especially in the *Capital*, and that, where a Man had made himself extremely popular, such an Attempt might be attended with fatal Consequences. This was answered with some Warmth, by a *worthy* * Member, who formerly, as strenuously contended for the *Liberties* of his Country, as he has since done for its *Dependence* and *Slavery*. He said, “that it may be, there was no Precedent upon the Books for it, but, it was Time there should, and they had as good a Right, as their Predecessors, to make one: That it was hard, if they were not better *Judges* of who was fit to sit in the *H—e* of *C—s*, than a Parcel of *Taylors, Smiths, Merchants, Shoemakers*, and other *low, and ignorant Tradesmen*; and that, as for the Consequences, he saw none bad to be feared; for, the *Sp—r* had received Assurance, that the *A—y* was in readiness to march on the firing of a *Rocket* from the *C—le*; so that, if these *rude Tradesmen* or *Mob* presumed to stir, *they should be mowed down and trampled under feet by the A—y.*”

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* Sir R—C—, Bart. in his Letter to the D— of D—t, upon the Manufactures of Ireland.

THE Majority concluded, “ this was *bravely spoke*, and that by the same Means, if the first proposed Project should by any Accident fail, as by *too many* of the usually *inattentive Country Members* coming to Town, which by Secrecy and Expedition in their Proceedings, might be prevented, his Papers may be voted *traitorous* and *seditionous* and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common *Hangman* ; or, he may be declared an *Enemy* to his Country, upon which his Election may be made void, or he may be *expelled* the House, and he may be close confined in Goal, where he cannot possibly live long ; by which they may, without any Trouble, get quite shut of this *pestilent, intractable Fellow*. ”

THESE Hints were reckoned *sage, seasonable* and *just*, by most of the Set. But some whose *Qualms* of Conscience had not been quite *allayed*, murmured half silent Disapprobation ; and upon being urged, cautiously declared their Opinions against burning the Papers. It was said, ‘ that they could ‘ not condemn the Papers without Reading them ; ‘ that in the Time requisite for Reading them, ‘ all the *Country Members* would by some Means or ‘ other, be brought to Town ; and that they would ‘ never consent to having such a System of the Constitution of *I—d* and *E——d*, as they looked upon these Papers to contain, publicly burnt.’ It was added, ‘ that *Lucas’s* Arguments to prove ‘ the *Independence* of the Parliament and People of ‘ *I—d* on the *B—b L—re*, which were the principal, tho’ secret Causes of his Condemnation, might ‘ possibly be espoused by some of these *Wrong-heads*, ‘ who would not submit to what the present *ruling Powers* wisely proposed for the *Honour* and *Interest* of the Nation, an *absolute, passive Dependence* on the *British Ministry*, in all Matters whatsoever ; therefore, to keep clear of all Opposition, it

‘ was

‘ was proposed, to prevent their being read ; but
 ‘ that some Sentences may be picked out of them
 ‘ here and there, which may be read or repeated,
 ‘ by a Member and censured, without naming or
 ‘ entering them, in the *J—ls*, or *V—s* of the
 ‘ *H—se* ; so, that the Public should not be able
 ‘ to learn what the *H—se* condemned ; and that
 ‘ then the *disqualifying Votes* could not incense
 ‘ the *Multitude* so much, and may be past to the
 ‘ Satisfaction of the *G—t*, and with Safety to
 ‘ the *M—rs*.’

THIS Amendment ‘ past pretty well. But yet,
 some Doubts and Dissatisfactions still remained
 among a *few young and unexperienced M—s*. But,
 they were solved and silenced, by being told, ‘ that
 ‘ the *G—t* made a Point of preventing this
 ‘ dangerous Fellow’s Sitting in the *H—se* of
 ‘ *C—s*, and that every *M—r*, who op-
 ‘ posed them, by appearing in his Behalf, would be
 ‘ marked out, as an *Enemy* to the *G—t*.’

THIS prevailing Argument had it’s Weight ; and
 now, *Nemine Contradicente* was the Word.

ENCOURAGED by this, the *candidate Aldermen*,
 who had, in Effect, given up the Election, by de-
 serting the Halls and all the public Meetings of the
 Citizens, now *manfully* rallied and *boldly* returned to
 the Charge : For, they appeared frequently at the
Castle, and were sometimes seen, in *Carriages*, in
 the Streets.

THE Plan of Operations against *Lucas* was now
 laid, and the principal Part was published, without
 Fear, Shame or Reserve. But, those out of the
 Secret, looked upon it, as the Howlings and Yells
 of expiring *Faction*, not the Sense of any Body of
 the *C—s*, or the *G—t* of the Kingdom,
 so the whole Scheme was looked upon with more
 Disregard

Disregard and Contempt, than Dread, by most of the Citizens.

THE long wished-for first Day of the S—n at length came on. And, as it is the Fashion, with the M—s of both H—s, in that unhappy Country, every Day of the S—n, as well, as the first, to go to C—t, there to learn and observe the *Will* of the G—r, or M—r, not the *Sense* of the *People*; The *Junto* punctually attended this critical Day at the C—le. H—E—'s Sp—h, in which, a Paragraph was inserted of such doubtful Meaning, that it might be construed in any Sense, or *no Sense*, was shewn to the *Confidants* severally, as a *special* and *singular* Favour to each. It was enough to build on. And *Lucas's* Destruction was accordingly determined, on Pain of being reckoned an Enemy to the G—t.

FROM the C—le, the C—s went to attend upon the S—r. There, the same Subject was started and dwelt on, till all were grounded in the Documents, they had received. The *Mover* and *Seconder* and *Supporters* of the Motion were all agreed on, and appointed, and nothing, but a Meeting was wanting, to carry the Plot into Execution, *Nemine Contradicente*.

SOME extraordinary Pannick notwithstanding seized the Perpetrators of this Scheme in the midst of their Pomp and Power: For, as if conscious of their evil Purposes, and dreading public Resentment, the A—y, which attended the L. L. to the P. H. and lined the Streets through which he past were charged with *twelve Rounds* of Powder and Ball each man, of which the *Soldiers* made no Secret, but shewed them to several Citizens.

ALL Things thus prepared and adjusted, the S—n was opened with a S—h from the T—ne to both H—s of P—t; after which, the C—s retired to their H—e, where

where a very uncommon Number of Citizens attended to hear the Proceedings of a Day, big with the *Fate* of *Liberty* and the BEING of the I—b P——t.

WHEN the ordinary Business of the Day was over, in the H. of C. the *Signal* was given to the *Agents*, against *Liberty* and their *Country*, to make the Attack. But no *Signal* was answered: *The whole Assembly looked confused, and the most Part knew not wherefore they were come together.* And those who were set apart for the Work, projected against *Lucas*, sat long silent and aghast, pardon the Comparison, not unlike the *Affassins* employed to murder CATO. But, *one* more, hardy than the rest, came up to the *Principal* †, and asked him, in an horrible Mood, ‘why he did not begin and make the Motion against *Lucas*?’ To which the *Principal* answered, ‘he had rather any Body else should begin;’ and asked, why they did not pitch upon *Some-body* ‘else to do their *dirty Work*,’ and concluded with swearing, ‘that if no-body else made the Motion, it should be never made by him.’ Which seeming open Desertion of the Cause would, no doubt have been somewhat culpable in this Gentleman, had he been engaged in the Service, by any *Place* or *Pension*: For, whatever Trifles he might have got before, by way of *Presents* from the G——t or *Ministry*, he justly looked upon, but as *small Gratuities* for *past Services*. But, the *Second* ‡, who lay under more visible Obligations, pressed him, with the Luckiness of the Opportunity; shewed, ‘that there were none in the H——se, who dare open their Mouths, but Friends, that it would be carried *Nem. Con.* now or never.’ But the wise *Principal* was as immoveable as an unpaid *Swiss*; and judging that he had by his Writings against

† Sir R—— C—— Bt.

‡ Dr. C——r, one of the Masters in C——ry.

gainst *Lucas*, made himself of the utmost Importance in the Question, he sat still, horribly sullen and silent.—Finding it in vain to wait for the expected Motion, the H—se was adjourned till the next Day.

WHAT past upon this, at C——t, has not yet transpired. The Citizens rejoiced at this seeming Victory. The *Writs* were issued for the Election of Members for the City, and it was taken for granted, that no Step would be taken that might interrupt or affect the Freedom of Election, especially in the *Capital*. And some flattered themselves with the Notion, that the P——t would not in any Case proceed to the Censure of a Citizen of the *Metropolis*, which had then *no Representative in Parliament*. But, they were soon undeceived : For, the next Day, the Gentleman came to the H——e better prepared * to do Business. And then, the Member, who peremptorily refused it the Day before, lodged the following Complaint, which was received, and the annexed Orders made thereupon.

‘ A Complaint being made to the House of a Dedication to the King, annexed to a Book printed in *Dublin*, by *James Esdall*, several Addresses and Letters to the Citizens of *Dublin*, printed also in *Dublin* by *James Kelburn* or *James Esdall*, to which the Name of *Charles Lucas* is either prefixed or signed as Author, and several Papers called *Censors*, highly and unjustly reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant and Parliament, justifying the bloody and barbarous Rebellions in this Kingdom, and tending to create a Jealousy between the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to disunite the Affections of His Majesty’s Common Subjects, closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests, and some Paragraphs in the said Addresses being read.

Resolved,

* Promised the Place of *Collector* of the Port of *Dublin*, in the Room of *Mr. Folker*, who is to resign in his Favour.

Resolved, That this House will To-Morrow Morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take the said several Books and Papers into Consideration, and to enquire into the Publisher and Author of them.

Ordered, That *James Kelburn* Printer or Book-feller attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That *James Esdall* Printer or Book-feller attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That *Charles Lucas* Apothecary attend the said Committee To-Morrow Morning.

Ordered, That the Persons who shall give their Testimony before the said Committee, be examined in the most solemn Manner.

MR. LUCAS obey'd the Order of the H——se, and after Mr. *Kelburn* was examined as a Witness against him, he was called in, to give his Evidence, ———against himself.

He came up to the Bar, and in a most respectful Manner, paid his Obedience to the H——se. The *Chairman* thought, he now had a good Opportunity of discountenancing and galling a Man, who was the only † Obstacle to his *nocturnal* Recreations in the Streets, and *Night-houses* of the City ; and did not fear being able to confound or disconcert him by Severity and Harshness. He therefore, began, with setting a violent Front against the *Evidence on the Floor* ; for, so Mr. *Lucas* was called ; and said, ' Come on, Sir ! '— Upon which Mr. *Lucas* moved slowly and respectfully forward, judging he should not have come within, or far from, the Bar. But,
G Mr.

† M—— A—— M—— Esq; see CENSOR, No. III. See also, The Legion Club, *Bless mine Eyes ! the righteous M——n Metamorphosed to a Gorgon ! &c.*

Mr. *Chairman* cried, with some Vehemence, 'come on further, Sir!'—Mr. *Lucas* obeyed with Modesty, and all humble Reverence to the H——se. When Mr. *Chairman* with a more loud and angry Tone of Voice, repeated his Call, 'of come on, Sir!' 'Come on further yet, Sir!'—Upon which Mr. *Lucas* walked up near the Table. Then, Mr. *Chairman* cried out, 'Keep off Sir! You need not come so far, Sir!'—To which Mr. *Lucas*, with great Composure replied, 'Sir, if you will please to order your Officer, to point out the Spot on which you would have me stand, you shall find I will stand on it, as firm and steady, as a Statue.'—By which Mr. *Chairman* was so disappointed and disconcerted, that, for some Minutes, he let the *Evidence* stand still, without appointing him any Ground, or proposing any Question. At length he resumed himself, and ordered the Clerk to put some of the *Addresses* to the *Citizens*, &c. into this *Evidence's* Hand. Which being done, he asked the *Evidence*, if he was the Author of that Paper? But, one of the M——s got up, and moved, 'that the *Evidence* may be informed, to what Intent he was to be examined, and that a Complaint, to the foregoing Effect, was made against him, and that he might chuse whether or no he would answer a Question, that'—Here, he was interrupted and called to Orders.

MR. *LUCAS* now saw, that he was prejudged, and that they wanted only his own Testimony to condemn him; and taking the Hint from the humane M——r, 'he desired to be informed, to what End he was to be examined?' He said, 'he was glad to be called before so august a Tribunal, as that of the R——ve Body of the People of I——d; where he hoped to have an Opportunity of vindicating himself from many groundless, severe

severe Aspersions, and where he was assured, Innocence and Loyalty must ever find Friends, and even *Criminals* meet with every just and reasonable Indulgence.—But, here Mr. *Chairman*, with more Truth, than Justice or Politeness, interrupted him, and said, with great Violence; ‘Sir! You shall have no Indulgence here.’ This somewhat disconcerted *the unhappy Evidence*. So that, he replied, (throwing the Book upon the Table;) ‘Sir, I am sorry, to find, that in this H—se, I should be denied any Priviledge of a Subject; and if this be the Sense of the H—se, I know not to what Purpose I stand here: I conceive, I have a Right’—Mr. *Chairman* rose violently in wrath, and cried, ‘get out, Sir! get out! get out!’ And as soon as the *Evidence* withdrew, ‘Gentlemen, said He, —I am your Chairman, your Servant in this Place; you see how I am insulted by this Fellow, and the whole H—se in me; I hope you will support your own Honour.’—After a silent Pause among the Grave-ones, and some few smothered Laughs, which sounded not unlike *Hisses*, from those of greater Levity, Mr. *Chairman*, finding no M——r would rise to take up the Cudgels, contented himself with knitting his Brows and biting his Nails awhile, then called in *the Evidence* again, and with redoubled Rage, bid him give concise and peremptory Answers to the Questions he should put to him; and so asked him, as before, if he was the Author of these Papers, called, a *Dedication* to the King and several *Addresses* to the *Freemen* and *Freeholders* of *Dublin*? To which Mr. *Lucas* answered; ‘Sir, I cannot tell; for’—Upon which Mr. *Chairman* interrupting him, said, ‘why not Sir? Why can’t you tell, Sir?’—‘I would not have you imagine, Sir,’ says Mr. *Lucas*, ‘that I prevaricate; I

scorn and am as much above it, as any Man.—It is true, Sir, I gave Papers of this or the like Title to a Printer to be published ; but, whether or not these be they, I cannot tell ; because several incorrect and spurious Copies of my Papers have escaped and got abroad without my Consent ; and besides, some of them, with many gross Errors, were published by other Printers, without my Authority, for which I cannot think myself accountable. Upon which, one of the *Supporters* ||, cried out, ‘ Mr *Chairman*, this is trifling with the H—— se. I would have this *Evidence* remember, that he is now examined before the H—— of C—— of I——d, and not standing before an inferior Corporation in the City, where he is heard with Applause, *brawling Sedition* by the Hour.’—But, this *learned Gentleman* was so discountenanced in this extraordinary Speech, even by the Party, that Mr. *Lucas* did not suffer much in being, as he was, prevented making any Reply.

AFTER this, Mr. *Esdal* was called in, but he did not appear. Upon which the M——r, who made the Complaint ; and who kept out of the *Chair*, for the Benefit of prosecuting, made the following Speech. ‘ Mr. *Chairman*, I am sorry to find, we want so material an Evidence, as *Esdal* ; but let *Kelburn* be called in, and I’ll warrant, we will prove a *very good Crime* upon this Gentleman.’

SOME were surprized, and others could not forbear laughing, at the Confusion, in which the *prime Orator* appeared. He set down without correcting or perceiving his Blunder. And *Kelburn* was called in, and *Lucas* ordered to withdraw. Before they began to question *Kelburn*, the M—r † arose who first spoke on Mr. *Lucas*’s Behalf, and observed,

‘ that
|| R M——l, Esq; one of his M——y’s Serjeants at Law.

† Tho. C——y, Esq;

‘ that though Mr. *Lucas* was called, an *Evidence*, and examined as an *Evidence* ; yet here were *Evidence* called against him, to accuse him and prove him the Author of Papers, which were in some Measure censured by the House.’ He, therefore, moved, ‘ that Mr. *Lucas* should be called in again, that he may have the Benefit, the Law allows every Man that is accused, to hear and confront such *Evidence*, as are produced to prove him a Criminal.’ But, this Motion without any Debate upon it was overruled, or dropt. So *Kelburn’s* Testimony was received. But, he proved so willing, so forward, and withal so inconsistent an *Evidence*, that his Testimony answered no End of the Prosecutors. For instance, he at first swore, that he printed all Mr. *Lucas’s* Addresses and several other Papers for him, some of which he named, unasked. Afterwards, upon being asked, what Number of *Addresses* he had printed ? He swore to *eleven*. Then, upon being asked, if he was a Printer ? He said, he was not, but that he got them printed for him. He was asked, by whom ? He said, by one *Bate*. And upon enquiring how many *Addresses* *Bate* had printed for him ; it appeared, that he had printed only *ten* on *Kelburn’s* Account ; but that he printed the *eleventh* on his own, to secure a Debt due to him, upon *Kelburn’s* absconding.

THIS Evidence proving insufficient, Mr. *Lucas* was again called in, and asked several smooth artful Questions to lead him to give a positive Answer. But he, as cautiously, evaded giving such, ‘till the H—e should inform him, whether they purposed to take *definitive Cognizance* of it, or meant to send him to be tried upon an *Im—t*, by the *Lords*. “ He told them, that if either was the Intention of the H—e, they should find him ready to save them much Trouble in examining Witnesses, by giving them all the Testimony, they could desire, in the most categorical Answers to all the Questions,

Questions, they should propose: For, he wished for nothing more, than to be brought to a final legal Trial; but, while he was threaten'd with Prosecutions, nay, Persecutions, in *inferior* Courts, he hoped, " ——— Here he was borne down by a general Clamour, and ordered to get out. But, an hopeful young Patriot, a * Branch of a good Stock, moved to have Time given Mr. *Lucas*, to consider of the Matter and to prepare Answers to the Questions asked him by the H——se. After some Debate and Opposition, it was at last agreed, that the H——se, who were at a loss how to proceed further, should indulge him, with further Time, ——— to *criminate* himself, 'till the *Monday* following, as appears by the Abstract of the *V——s*:

"THE Order of the Day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the Matter of Complaint of a Dedication to the King, annexed to a Book printed in *Dublin* by *James Esdall*, several Addresses and Letters to the Citizens of *Dublin*, printed also in *Dublin* by *James Kelburn* or *James Esdall*, to which the Name of *Charles Lucas* is either prefixed or signed as Author, and several Papers called *Censors*, highly and unjustly reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant and Parliament, justifying the bloody and barbarous Rebellions in this Kingdom, and tending to create a Jealousy between the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to disunite the Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects, closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests, and to enquire into the Publisher and Author of them."

"Ordered that *Charles Lucas*, Apothecary, do attend the said Committee."

THE Town was now alarmed and in the utmost Consternation. This eminently loyal People now

* The Honourable Mr. *J—f—n*.

saw their City without a Representative, the Election posted to come on in a few Days, and a *Citizen* and *Candidate*, harrassed and distressed, and likely to be further embarrassed, if not destroyed, without Mercy, without Law, or the Form or Shadow of either! What was to be done? They ran about the Streets, enraged and distracted, openly vowing Vengeance and Destruction on the Authors of this Distraction. But, this Ardour was every where suppressed or allay'd, by Mr. *Lucas*, who ran through the Town to all their Meetings, and expostulated with them upon their rash and destructive Purposes, and exhorted them to *Peace* and a due submissive *Regard* to the L———re; since, *Force* and *Violence* could serve no Purposes to the Sons of *Liberty*, and were the very Engines to which their *Enemies* had Recourse, when *Corruption* and *Fraud* were found to fail.

Thus, by *Advices* and *Remonstrances* of this kind frequently made in his *public Orations* and *Addresses*, particularly in the *Nineteenth*, and in the Preface to his *Address* to the L——— L———t, he suppressed all Tendencies to Tumults or Breaches of the Peace. And it is remarkable, there never was known the Eve of an Election so peaceful, and quiet, as that of the most critical one, *Dublin* ever saw, was kept by the pacific Exhortations and Patriot-Care of this poor Man, who is now charged with all the contrary Vices!

ALL honourable Expedients were quite ineffectual to extricate this unhappy Man from the Troubles, in which his unshaken Virtue and public Spirit had involved him. He expostulated with many of the M———s upon the Heads of his Accusation, and the Manner of their Proceedings against him. Such, as would hear him, were forced to confess themselves convinced of his Innocence and Integrity.

grity. The *principal* † M——r declared, “ that he knew no Objection to Mr. *Lucas*’s Person, Character or Conduct ; that no Man approved his Spirit of Liberty, more than he ; and that he knew nothing to prejudice him, but his having exposed some *Powerful Individuals*, by which they were so far irritated, as to set themselves with all their Force most violently and implacably against him.” This Gentleman, unwilling to risque any part of his Popularity, had all along affected to declare, upon some hot-headed M——s saying, as they often did, that if *Lucas* were elected by ever so great a Majority, the C——s would never permit such a *Fellow* to sit among them, “ that if he were elected fairly, he should sit in the *House*.” — Thus did this great cunning Man keep two Strings to his Bow ; when he well knew the Scheme laid to subvert the Freedom of the City Election ; and that neither this nor any other P——ry Project could be framed or carried into Execution, without his *Sovereign* Direction or Permission !

SUCH must be the Power of *Faction* in all long P——ts ! And how could it be better in I——d, where the P——t is looked upon as *Perpetual* ! or the Seats there, *hereditary* or *transferable* !

WELL ! the Day appointed for giving public Sanction to this predetermined, critical Cause came on. Early on *Monday* Morning, the Citizens of all Ranks crowded to Mr. *Lucas*’s House. All resolved to accompany him to the P——t-H——e, and most of them firmly determined to share his Fate ; though they knew, that from the Temper and Disposition of the *Rulers*, the worst was to be expected.

HE expressed the utmost Gratitude to them, for this new Instance of their Affection for him ; but, most earnestly exhorted them to a patient Resignation

† The Right Hon. H—— B——, Esq ; S——,

tion to the Will of the H—e ; shewing them, that their Opposition could not be attended with any useful, and may with very destructive Consequences.

FINDING this Advice and Remonstrance not likely to produce the desired Effect, he proposed another Expedient, from which he expected little more than diverting the Populace from violent Purposes; he observed to them, that every one of them had a Right to make his Sentiments on this Occasion known to the P——t. And that they might draw up a Petition and have it presented to the H—e. This Proposal was universally relished; and thereupon a PETITION, of the several *Citizens of Dublin*, whose names were subscribed, was drawn in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Citizens of the said City, setting forth, the present Circumstances of the City, having then *no Representative* in P——t; that the Writs were issued and the *Election* posted by the Sheriffs of the City; and submitted, that censuring a *Citizen*, who had *no Representative* in the House, and one of the *Candidates*, would be injurious to the Rights of the Subject, and to the Freedom of Election; and praying, that the Consideration of the Complaint against *Charles Lucas*, might be postponed, 'till after the Election, or the Call of the H—e, or such other Relief as the H—e should think fit, &c.

THIS was signed by as many Citizens, as Mr. *Lucas's* House could contain. And then, they set out in Coaches to the P——t-H—e. Never was any Occasion known, which brought together such a Concourse of People in *Dublin*. It was extremely difficult, even for Carriages, to wade through the Crowd. And it is scarce possible to conceive the Rage and Indignation universally prevalent in the Populace. As, many Interruptions were given the Carriages, and Mr. *Lucas* was every where sur-
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rounded and teized by the fond and incensed Multitude, who vowed nothing less than the Destruction of his Enemies, he expostulated with them upon their lawless and dangerous Resolutions, and exhorted them, "to desist from their mistaken Purposes, and to disperse;" assuring them, "that nothing could serve him or the Cause of Liberty, in which alone, he hoped they would support or countenance him, but their comporting themselves with just Submission, strict Decency and good Order." He told them, "there was nothing to be feared, from the Power and Awfulness of the Tribunal, before which he was to appear, by loyal Subjects." And begged, "they would leave him to himself;" assuring them of Hopes, "that he would shortly be able to extricate himself and them from impending Troubles, by the Force of Justice and Law alone." He thanked them, for these new Marks of their Affection, and assured them, of his invariable Intention to assert the Freedom and Rights of his Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens, upon all Occasions, to the last Gasp of his Breath."

WITH Remonstrances and Declarations of this kind, he calmed and soothed them; and so suppressed the rising Tumults, that every where threatened to burst forth, like a Thunder-Cloud, into Fire and Fury; and, at length, well tired and almost hoarse with addressing Multitudes, he arrived at the P——t-H——e. He sent certain Friends before him to prepare some M——r to introduce the Petition. But, in vain; none could be had, that would venture to embark in so hazardous a Cause. Before he was called in, he tried to get some M——r to bring in the Petition; but, with no better Success: He was told, that it was all in vain to attempt any Opposition; that the Affair was concerted and determined, long before it came there; and that
every

every Man came now prepared to act the part, he was directed, regardless of every principle of Reason and Justice; that some M——rs, finding this, through Shame and Despondency, retired to the Country; that there were no M——rs in the H——e, but the *Creatures* and *Minions* of the C——t, who were determin'd to finish the Affair before the *Country* M——rs could come to Town; and that he must prepare for the worst, with all his Resolution; but, that it was impossible to assist or advise him."

THIS melancholy Prospect could not fail of moving a mind less sensible of public Ills, than that with which every Man, who has read any of Mr. *Lucas's* political Papers, will judge him actuated. However, he was far from being shock'd or dispirited. He said, "he was long prepared for the worst, that Fortune could do to him; but, that he was sorry to find his Country was to bleed, and that by the Hands of her unnatural Children: That it was doing him too great an Honour to wound her through his Sides; But, that as all these things could not be effected, without the immediate Direction, or Permission of a SUPREME POWER, he would submit, and endeavour to bear them, as became a good Subject and a Christian."

THIS Conversation pass'd with some M——rs, in the C——t of R——ts. Soon after it ended, and they had entered the H——e, Mr. *Lucas* was called in. His *kind Friend*, the *Chairman* put him in mind of the Indulgence of the H——e, in allowing him a longer Day to answer the Questions proposed to him, when he was last called before them; and now desired he would give direct and concise Answers to these Questions. And then, ordered the *Clerk* to put the *Addresses* to the *Citizens*, &c. into his Hand. Whereupon, Mr. *Lucas* answered him, to the following Effect:

“ SIR, I gratefully acknowledge the *Indulgence* of the House, in allowing me a further Day to answer these Questions ; I have made the best Use of it, that Time and Circumstances would permit. But, the only End, that so much Time could possibly serve, was to let me see the great Weight and Importance of the Points, that must be put to Issue, by my answering these Questions. I am ignorant of the Law, and unacquainted with P———y Proceedings ; and these happen at a Time when there are no Lawyers, except the M———s of this H———e in Town ; therefore I stand utterly unadvised before you. I have looked over the Papers pointed at by the H———e, in the Hands of the Clerk. I have looked over the Complaint entered in the J———l and V———s against me. I find the Papers, with the Writing of which I am charged, and about which I stand here examined, are already censured and condemned ; and that the H———e is now in search of legal Proof against the Author. I have already informed you, Sir, the Principles upon which I am willing, nay desirous, to give you a positive, definitive Answer ; but these are Conditions, with which, it seems, I am not to be indulged. Now, Sir, though I am as little concerned for mine own Fate in this Enquiry as any Body can wish, yet, as I apprehend, the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of this Kingdom in this Question concentrate in so mean and contemptible a Point, as my poor Person ; that it is a Question, on which the Priviledges, nay, the very Being of this H———e, of the P———t and Kingdom depend, I must think it my Duty to preserve every Right of a Subject, as far, as it is committed to me ; and therefore, I hope it cannot be disagreeable to the H———e, that I insist on *my Right* of refusing to answer this Question, upon any other Terms, than those I had before proposed, which

which was no more than the bringing me before a Court of *definitive Judgment*."

AN Answer to this Purpose was probably expected from Mr. *Lucas*, by the *Ministry*. And therefore, one of the *L—d L—*'s *Secretaries*, unable to conceal how far he and his Master were concerned and interested in this Prosecution, brought the *Dedication* to the King, the *Address* to the Lord Lieutenant, and the *Addresse*s to the Citizens, with which poor Mr. *Lucas* had the other Day presented his *E—y* to the *H—e* in his Pocket; and to cover the *L—d L—*'s unprecedented, unparalleled Forwardness in this Persecution, got an Address moved to be made to his *E—y*, for the laying these Papers before the *H—e*; which Motion for an *Address*, though generally known to be made *ex post Faeto*, was formally entered in the *J—l*, and published in the *V—s*, as if done in due Course and Form.

AFTER a Pause of some Minutes, Mr. *Chairman* produced the Books Mr. *Secretary* laid before the House, and asked Mr. *Lucas*, if he knew these Books? To which he answered, He could not tell. —He was bid to look them over, and then ask'd the same Question again. To which he made the same Answer. Upon which, Mr. *Chairman* thought fit to insinuate, that these were Prevarications, and so put the Question in another Form. To which Mr. *Lucas* replied, "Sir, low as Providence has placed me in Life, I reverence Truth and detest every Tendency to Falshood, as much as any Man. I might make you the same Answer to this Question, as I did to the former. But, Sir, I will be more explicit, and shew you, that I am far from intending any Degree of Prevarication; for however I may revere and honour the *H—e* of *C—*, I do not at all fear it: For *Fear* is only for *Slaves*, or *Criminals*; and I am neither. That I did give the
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L——d L———t three Books of these or the like Titles, and in these or the like Bindings, I do confess; but, as I am now examined, as an *Evidence* before you, and as an *extraordinary Evidence*, against no other than *myself*, I hope, though I am not absolutely sworn, It will not be judged wrong, that I answer, with just Regard to Truth, with all imaginary Caution and Tenderneſs. You ſee then, Sir, that theſe Books were not in my Cuſtody, by the Quarter from whence you obtained them; therefore, I cannot poſitively ſay, if I would, that theſe are the identical Books I delivered at the *C——e*. Though, if they were, I humbly conceive it would be no legal Proof of my being the Author of them; and whether or no, I hope the *L——d L———t* is not to come before this *H——e* to give Evidence againſt me.”

UPON this, he was turned out by an Exclamation, as loud and violent as it was general. Great Art and Industry were expended in making this Speech criminal, but whether it was ſo or not, there was now too much Heat and Confuſion to make it out. When their Rage ſubſided a little, they deſired he ſhould be again aſk'd, whether he was the Author of theſe Papers; and ſo they call'd him in again. As ſoon as he came within Sight of the Bar, the *Chairman* cried out, “no Reflections, no Reflections, Sir, upon *my L——d L———t*.”——*Mr. Lucas*, unwilling by his Motion to interrupt the *Chairman*, made ſome Stops in coming toward the Table; upon which *Mr. Chairman*, with great Indignation and Vehemence, every now and then, cried out, “come on, Sir! come on, Sir! answer the *H——e*, Sir! but no Reflections on *my L——d L———t*, at your Peril, Sir! or on any Body, Sir! Come, Sir! take them Books in your Hand, look them over, Sir! and answer, whether you are the Author of them? without any Reflections, directly, Sir.”

Sir."——Mr. *Lucas* took the Books one after another in his Hands, looked upon them, and then said to this Effect.——“ Though I am called an *Evidence*, Sir, I cannot forget, and I hope the H——e will consider, that I stand here upon the *Defensive*; I never sought to throw a Reflection upon any Character, nor should I presume to attempt it in this H——e, at present, were it necessary. You must see the Nature of the Case, and I hope you will find, I have said and done nothing but what was my Duty, when I stood in Defence of the Freedom and Rights of my Fellow-Subjects and myself; In regard of whom, I now claim the same Liberty in answering this Question, that I did before; I decline answering it, either in the *Negative*, or *Affirmative*, till I am assured that I am brought to a *final Trial*.”

He was now turned out again, with no less Violence than before. But, upon some Hesitation, how to dispose of him, all Doubt and Difficulty was readily obviated by a very eminent Lawyer †, who rose to great Esteem and Favour with the Public for having been reputed to have long resisted high Temptations from the *Ministry*. This made him so popular, that the Citizens of *Dublin* conferred a very honourable and important Employment upon him. But, upon his joining with the *Aldermen* against the *Commons*, contrary to his Declaration and Promise, in which and some other remarkable Instances of Misconduct, Mistake, or Neglect of his Office; which were discovered by Mr. *Lucas*, who could never keep Secrets of that Kind; and upon its being some Way found out, that the utmost Bribe, offered the Gentleman, by any *Lord Lieutenant*, was the *Commission* of a *Captain of Horse*, which any grave *Barrister* beside, would rather look on

† E——n S——, Esq; late Recorder of D——.

the as a *banter*, than boast of, and set it forth, as Test of his *Patriotism*; these unlucky Things being discovered, and principally by Means of Mr. *Lucas*, this learned *Gentleman* was put under some Sort of Necessity of quitting his Place in the City, and was now glad of a favourable Opportunity of wreaking his Vengeance on a Man, on whom he had long looked with a malevolent Eye. Therefore, he set himself with all his Might and Virulence against Mr. *Lucas*. In Order to shew his Malignity with greater Ease and Security, he moved, that Mr. *Lucas* may be dismiss'd from further Attendance upon the H——e. This produced two Effects to this Gentleman, as well as to the rest of the H——e, very desirable. First, the removing Mr. *Lucas* out of his Sight and Hearing; Secondly, the getting shut of the Populace, whose Number and Noise became a little disagreeable, if not dreadful, to Men, who could not be insensible of the Evils in which they had imbru'd their Hands.

THE Motion in all Respects answered his Expectations: It was receiv'd and approv'd by the H——e; *Lucas* was dismiss'd, and most of the People follow'd him.

Now, all the Engines were set to work. One *Courtier* vied with another to shew his Zeal in blackening *Lucas*. But none was so presumptuous, as to touch upon the chief, the secret Objection to him, which was his asserting *the Independency* of the Kingdom of *Ireland* on any other Legislature, than her own. Even his E———'s chief Agent, the *principal Prosecutor* † though to ingratiate himself to the *Ministry*, he now contended for the *Dependency* and *Slavery* of that Nation, in his matchless Writings against Mr. *Lucas*, under the Title of the *Cork-Surgeon*, and in his Conversation at the C——le, maintained, that *the whole Nation was*, in Effect,

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HOWEVER, something must be done agreeable to the Scheme laid down, and in some Sort of Answer to his E——y's Sp——b. In vain then, were the fullest and strongest Remonstrances of a few Patriot Members†, against the proposed Measures. Shewing, “ that the whole *Addresses* were but one connected and continued Chain of Narration and Reasoning, which could not be understood in separate Sentences or Paragraphs; that no Writing, not even sacred Scripture, could stand such a Test: for, that any Man may extract *Treason* from *Acts of Parliament*, and *Blasphemy*, or *Atheism* from the *Bible*, by taking them by Fragments, or broken or inconnected Sentences; that therefore to judge justly of these Papers, the whole should be carefully read over, by which Means, the Meaning and Intentions of the Author, upon which alone he should be judged, could appear. That then, and not till then, the House could proceed to censure these Papers; that, in Case they were criminal, which was not yet justly or properly proved, yet nothing hitherto offered was legal Proof, that Mr. *Lucas* was the Author; that if the House went into that Enquiry, they had no Method of punishing the Author;

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thor, but by *Impeachment*, which would bring the Trial before the *Lords*; for, that it was against every Principle, and the common Course of Justice, to send any Person from a *superior* to an *inferior* Court, to be tried; That if they did not proceed to an *Impeachment*, Mr. *Lucas* should be heard in his own Justification; for, that to censure a Man unheard, was robbing him of an inherent, a most essential Privilege of the Subjects of these free Kingdoms;” these, and many such like Arguments made no Impression: The Gentleman on the other Side came too well prepared to be moved by any thing that could possibly be offered in the H—e. The *chief Agents* brought their Motions, the Sum of their respective Instructions, ready drawn in their Pockets. Then the Report of the *Committee*, to which the Consideration of these Papers was referred, which, *according to Order*, was called a C—ee of the *whole H—e*, though not one *third* of the *Members* was yet come to Town, nor ever does in I—d, till the Elections are over, was received. As the whole is very remarkable, I beg leave to transcribe it, and add the cursory Animadversions of a free *British* Subject.

VOTES of the H—se of C—s
of I—d, of

Oct. 16. 1749.

RESOLVED, that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the severa lprint-ed Papers, intituled a Dedication to the King, an Address to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*, a *second*, a *fourth*, an *eighth*, a *tenth*, an *eleventh*, and a *fifteenth* Address

dress to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*, subscribed *C. Lucas*, referred to the Consideration of this Committee, contain several Paragraphs highly, falsely, and scandalously reflecting on his E——cy the Earl of ——, L——d L———t of this Kingdom, and tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions which have been raised in this Kingdom, and to create Jealousies between his Majesty's Subjects.

Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that *Charles Lucas* of the City of *Dublin* Apothecary, is Author of the said printed Papers.

Resolved, that it appears to this Committee that the said *Charles Lucas* has, in some of the said printed Papers, scandalously and maliciously misrepresented the Proceedings of the present House of Commons, and highly reflected on the Honour and Dignity thereof.

To which Resolutions the Question being severally put, the House did agree, *Nomine contradicente*. Then,

Resolved, Nemine contradicente, that the said *Charles Lucas* is an Enemy to his Country.

Resolved, Nemine contradicente, that an humble Address be presented to his E——cy the L——d L———t, that he will be pleased to direct his Majesty's Attorney-General, to prosecute the said *Charles Lucas* for his Offence, in writing and publishing the said seditious and scandalous Papers.

Ordered, that the said Address be presented to his Excellency, (in due Form.)

Ordered, Nemine contradicente, that the said *Charles Lucas* for his Infringement and Violation of the Privileges of this House, be committed close Prisoner to his Majesty's Goal of *Newgate*, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.

THEN the *prime Agent* †, made a pompous Harangue on the Greatness, Wisdom and Justice of these Proceedings of the H—e of C——s. He took the Advantage of the Silence of the few desponding and dejected Members, who spoke in Behalf of Mr. *Lucas*, (some of whom seeing themselves unable to stem or stand the Torrent, withdrew before the Questions were put in the House,) and greatly exulted upon their *Unanimity*. He was followed by Mr. S——d and others, who complimented the People in the Gallery, and said, “ They were glad to see so many sensible, discerning and judicious Citizens in the Gallery, who must inform their Brethren of, and join with them in applauding the Wisdom, Equity and Justice, as well as *Unanimity* of the H—e of C——s, in thus cutting off this Disturber of the public Peace, this common Enemy, this baneful Pest of Society; and after a few more such Compliments dealt to the H—e, and such Abuses to the unhappy CHARLES LUCAS, they adjourned and went to the C—le, to congratulate H— E—— upon the Success of *his Forces* in P——t, without the Assistance of the *Standing Army*.

WITH most of these Gentlemen, the Night concluded with great Demonstrations of Joy, for the Victory gained over Liberty, which alone could eternally mar the Projects of an avaricious, or ambitious M——y. But, on the other Hand, such Lamentations, such Mourning, such Distraction, as overwhelmed the loyal Friends of Liberty, was never before known in *Dublin*.

THE Destruction of the *chief Agents*, by Name, was publickly vowed in the open Streets; and *Placarts* threatening Vengeance on them, were posted up in several public Places, and sent in anonymous Scrolls

† Sir R. C.

and Letters to their Dwellings, upon the Principles of Colonel *Titus's Killing no Murder*. For, the preventing which, and the apprehending the Aggressors, the *Common-Council* soon after justly promised the Informer a Reward of *one hundred Pounds*.

MR. LUCAS alone stood unmoved amidst this general Convulsion: For, though he foresaw and dreaded the fatal Consequences of the violent Measures concerted against him and against his Country; yet he swerved not a Shade from his Duty, and the Principles he publickly avowed. As soon as he was dismissed by the H——e of C——s, he went to the *Guild-Hall*, where his Brethren the *Merchants* were assembled. He addressed them in the usual Terms, and spoke in every Debate that arose, till the Hall was ready to break up. An Account of the Proceedings of the C——s was soon brought there. He heard it without any visible Emotion, or Alteration in his Conduct. And his Friends and Enemies agree that he never was heard to speak with greater Propriety and Justness of Diction and Elocution, or greater Force and Energy of Eloquence, than on this Occasion, though the Measures of the C——s struck a general Damp upon his Friends, and surprized and shocked some of his more moderate Antagonists.

THE general Consternation in the Hall was not a little increased by hearing a very loud Noise of a Multitude below Stairs. The Door was soon assailed with some Knocks, which struck a general Pannick upon the Aldermen present and their Adherents and Creatures, who now dreaded the long threatened Fury of the incensed Populace; and therefore, ordered the Door to be kept close. The Noise and Tumult increasing, Mr. *Lucas* addressed the Masters and “desired Leave to withdraw, as he apprehended they were likely to do no more Business; that he would go to submit to his Fate,

which

which he hoped would soon appease and quell this Tumult." The Masters, one whereof was an *Alderman*, judging justly, that Mr. *Lucas's* going would probably divert the Populace another Way, at least long enough to give them Time to retreat to some better Place of Safety, readily agreed to his Request, the Door was opened, and Mr. *Lucas* withdrew, but was laid hold on by the Arms, as soon as he got out.

He demanded who and what they were, that thus seized him, by what Authority and to what Purpose? They soon gave him to understand, "they were his *Friends*, Friends to the Cause of *Truth* and *Liberty*, for which there were some Thousands, that would lay down their Lives, before he should suffer." And, before they permitted him to make any Answer, they conducted and supported him down the *Tbalsel* Stairs, where he was received with the loudest Acclamations of an infinite Multitude. Then, they stopped and asked him, whither he was going? He answered, home. "No," said they, "you are going to *Newgate*, by order of the H—e of C——s" and then swore, "he must go along with them, and that they would die Man by Man, before his Enemies should touch an Hair of his Head." This was confirmed by some universal Shouts. Then, Mr. *Lucas* begged to be heard, and expostulated with them to the same Purport, he did in the Morning. "He shewed the Necessity of a peaceful Submission to the Determinations of Courts, even, when they were manifestly in the Wrong, in order to obtain the wished-for Cause, by course of Law, and to recover the strength of the civil Constitution, which was not to be done by Force; he hoped, they would not so soon shew his Labours and his frequent Exhortations to Peace and Loyalty fruitless, by opposing the

G———

G——t by Force, while there was any Prospect, any Possibility of Redress of his and the Public Grievances by due Course of Law; he told them, he had not yet so much as seen the Order of the H——e of C——ns, and that he was going home to his Family; but, that if they had made such an Order, he judged himself absolutely obliged to pay it all due Obedience; that he would go to *Goal*, and if the *Goal* should be broke down about him, he would stick to the Ruins, 'till he was discharged by Law, while Law and Justice were attainable;" he shewed them, "that he was *no Criminal*, and that therefore, he had nothing to fear from the highest Powers; and that the Law must soon enlarge him, if he were confined, and added, that were it otherwise, he had rather suffer any Confinement, any Distress, nay, even disgraceful *Exile*, than a single Drop of civil Blood should be unjustly and unnecessarily spilled." He hoped, "they knew him too well, to construe this into such a *servile Compliance* with *illicit Power*, as could, in the future, give any Sanction to *Tyranny*, by a Precedent." He told them, "that he could not say, he approved the Measures he heard the C——s had taken; but that he at present judged, the best way of conquering and exposing them would be by a peaceful Submission; that then the M——rs now in Town would be more apt to judge coolly, and that by this means too, the Country M——s would be more incensed and more likely to condemn and reverse these Measures, than if they were opposed by lawless Force and Violence." He therefore, conjured them, "to leave him to himself a little;" assured them, "their Lives and Liberties were dearer to him; than his own; that they must be convinced of this, when they considered, that the many hard and tedious Conflicts, through which he had already struggled,

struggled, besides those, through which he was yet to pass, were all brought on, by his Sollicitude for the PUBLIC LIBERTIES; that the Horrors of them were so far from making him flinch, that they did but add Spurs to his Zeal, and should make him more steadily persevere in the Principles and Conduct, which recommended him to their invaluable Love, to deserve which, should be the Study and Business of his Life."

THEY heard him patiently, and attentively, and expressed their Approbation with loud Shouts and Acclamations. He had many of the like Difficulties to encounter, before he could get to a Coach, that attended him. Before the Coach could be shut; for, both Doors were open, they insisted on his going home, and swore, they would guard him. It was in vain to contend. He drove home with greater Difficulty, if possible, than he set out with in the Morning. When he alight, he again harrangued the Populace to the same Purpose, and with greater Energy; but, it was to no further effect, than to raise their Love and Admiration of him, and to rivet their Attachment to him more firmly, if possible.

FINDING it impossible to disperse them, for, the Multitude rather increased, than diminished while he stood before them, he took his leave of them and retired.

IN the House, he found great Numbers of his Friends, some with angry and revengeful, some with dismal, mourning Countenances. He soothed the one and solaced the other, and comforted both, with the cheerful and resolute Manner, in which he spoke of, and determined to bear his Sufferings. As soon as had taken some small Refreshment, he said it was Time for him to make some Preparation for his intended Lodging. He therefore desired a
Friend

Friend or two to try to secure such an Apartment for him in *Newgate*, as might give him some Chance for his Life in Confinement ; if such was not, as usual, engaged to some of the *Nobility* or *Gentry*. Soon after, he was invited to a Tavern, where a great Body of the *Merchants* were assembled. He waited upon them, and told them his Resolutions, with Regard to the Orders of the H—e of C——s ; of which he received their general Approbation, with Assurance, “ that they would elect him, tho’ he were in *Goal*, in the remotest part of the King’s Dominions.” Soon after, he told them, he had some Affairs to settle, before he should go into Confinement ; that he was glad of this Opportunity of taking his leave of them, and that he would spend the Remainder of the Evening in taking leave of some other Friends, and in putting Matters in such a Posture, as would prepare him to attend the Call of the *Serjeant-at-Arms*, which he expected in the Morning.

At his Return, he found several Friends at home, waiting to see him, particularly those, who went to prepare Lodgings for him in *Newgate*. They informed him, that they had secured him the best Room in the *Goal* ; that they ordered it to be cleaned and a Fire made in it, and that to-morrow, they would have a Bed set up in it ; at which he expressed himself pleased and thankful. Soon after, some other Friends informed him, that the S——r’s *Warrants* for apprehending him were actually issued ; and that they were determined to take him, at a dead hour in the Night, and drag him to Confinement. Upon which Mr. *Lucas* said, “ they might have taken him all Day if they would, nay, that he would have gone to the proper Officer, or met him at the *Goal* upon a Message ; but, that he would not be carried there by Force, and like a Thief

in the Night." So he went out and lay that Night at a Neighbour's.

NEXT Morning he came home, and found as great a Crowd at the Door, as was the Day before. He desired to be denied to all, but the *Serjeant-at-Arms*. But, his Friends met him and told him, they were disappointed in the Room; that the *under Goaler* said the Keys were taken from him; and that he could now give Mr. *Lucas* no other Accommodation, then the *Common Hall*, and a Bed of *Straw* among *Criminals* at Night. Upon which, his Friends apprehending this, a Scheme to take away his Life, knowing he could not live many Days in such Circumstances, conjured him, to alter his Purpose of going into Goal, which he absolutely and peremptorily refused. At length, they prevailed on him to keep out of the way for a Day or two, till he should gain Time to settle his Affairs, and to consult Lawyers and his Friends. To this, not without extream Reluctance, he submitted. But, would not consent to put on any Sort of Disguise; nor so much as to go in a Coach or Chair; but begging of the Populace not to follow him, walked through the Streets.

HE went to the House of a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, and sent for some of his select Friends. He told them, " he saw, their Intention to elect him was vain: For, as it could not be unanimous, whoever petitioned against him, would undoubtedly be preferred to him; since, the same Persons, that condemned him, without any legal Evidence, and unheard, and voted him an Enemy to his beloved Country, would be Judges of that Election. Therefore, he recommended to them, to leave no Chance of bringing in an *Alderman*, by making a contestible Election; but to pitch upon some unexceptionable *Freeman*, who was neither in
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the Schemes nor under the Influence of the *Aldermen*, or the *Ministry*. He told them, he would not presume to prescribe to them ; that he did not set himself up, but upon their Entreaty, and that he would much less take it upon him to point out another, for whose Conduct he could not so well be answerable. He bid them remember the Principles he always recommended to their Consideration, act up to these, and they could not err in their Choice."

IN the Afternoon, a Meeting of the Citizens was called. Several Candidates were spoke of ; but, none would stand it, without Mr. *Lucas's* Recommendation. Upon this, he was pressed to declare whom he would recommend. He told them, " he saw no Citizen, at present, equally deserving their Favour, with Mr. *Read*, Master of the *Company of Merchants* ; who proved himself in every Office, he served in the City, as well, as in private Life, a sensible, generous, public-spirited Man, a free and independent Agent, and a strenuous Opponent of the Tyranny of the *Aldermen*." This Recommendation gave general Satisfaction, and Mr. *Read* was this Night unanimously requested, by a great Number of eminent Citizens, to stand Candidate, in Mr. *Lucas's* Room, to which, with most becoming modest Reluctance, he submitted.

As soon as this great Point was settled, Mr. *Lucas* sent to consult his Friends and Lawyers, on the Course necessary for him to take. It was on all hands agreed, that he must not think of going into Goal, if he could avoid it : For, besides it's being certain Death to him, as he would be confined in Chains and Darkness, denied Pen, Ink and Paper, permitted to see no body, but common Criminals, with whom he was to lie on noisome Straw, in damp Dungeons at Night ; the sweet Reward of

his inculcating *Whiggism*, *Liberty* and *Loyalty*! the inevitable Consequence of his going into Prison, would be a violent Tumult or an Insurrection in the City, in which *Military Execution* would be performed on his most zealous Friends. Of this he received many Assurances by Letters and verbal Messages from several Persons of good Intelligence and Distinction.

THESE Considerations could not fail of moving a Person of less Humanity and public Spirit, than this unhappy Loyalist appears to be. And, since he found himself utterly unable to stem the Torrent of adverse Power and Fortune longer, he yielded himself up entirely to the Direction of his Friends. Upon which, several of them engaged an open Boat, no Ship being ready in the Port, and took him with them to the *Isle of Man*. But, what Course he has since steered, whether he be alive or dead, or failed in Quest of Liberty and Justice to *Greenland* or *Guinea* is not yet certainly known.

WHO was ever known to undergo such Sufferings under a free Government! to behold a Man labouring with indefatigable Industry, to illustrate the Excellencies and to distinguish the Health and Diseases of the Constitution of his Country, to shew the Offices and Duty of the Magistrates and Ministers of the State, the moral and legal Rights, Liberties and Duties of the Subjects; to inculcate every social Virtue, Loyalty more especially; to see him, for these admired, carressed and revered by the Generality of his Countrymen, but especially by his Fellow-Citizens, who complimented him with the Freedom of their *Guilds*, loaded him with honourable Presents, and other Marks of their public Favour, and determined to elect him, as the Person best qualified, to represent them in Parliament, must surely gladden every generous and loyal Heart.

But,

But, to see such a Man assaulted by unprovoked Power, charged with, and condemned for Crimes unknown, and detested, in his Soul; dragged from the faithful Bosoms of his mourning Friends, torn from a numerous, helpless, poor, innocent Family; sentenced to deadly Goal, or hateful Exile, and cast down from a sure Prospect of being raised by Merit to one of the first Ranks in his own Country, to that of a *Fugitive*, a *Vagabond*, in a strange Land! Such Scenes of undeserved Distress, must move the most obdurate Heart to Tenderness and Commiseration. But surely, no Subject under the Crown of *Britain* can fall under such Calamities, without moving and alarming every sensible and virtuous Member of the Community, from humane, as well as political Considerations: What must become of these Nations, when it becomes *criminal* and *penal* to assert sacred Truth, to inculcate genuine Loyalty, and to promote the Cause of Liberty, upon true *Revolutional*, upon *essential constitutional Principles*! Who would wish to live in such dreadful Days!

WHETHER, or how far Mr. *Lucas* has receded from these Principles, his most inveterate Enemies have not justly yet shewn; but, how far he attended and acted up to them will appear by a cursory Review of the Papers which were censured in the *Gross*, and supposed to be his.

BEFORE we proceed to this Review, it may probably be satisfactory to tender Minds to clear this unhappy Sufferer's Character from some additional Reflections now thrown upon it by his Enemies: For, it is observed, "that, though he said, *He would peremptorily stand the Poll, and maintain the Rights of his Electors, were there but ten to vote for him; that he despised Imprisonment, and even Death, being ready to seal the Truths he asserted, and to testify his inviolable Attachment to the Cause in which*

be embarked, with his dying Blood ; yet, he basely broke his Word, abandoned his Friends in a critical Conjunction, gave up the Election, and ran away like a Thief or fled from Justice."

LET those, who make these Objections, shew, if they can, what this Man could have done more, than he has, to serve the Public ; let them shew it possible for him to serve the People more effectually, than by *flying* ; let them prove, whether he can be said, more truly and properly, to have *fled from Justice* or from *illegal Oppression, rank Tyranny, glaring Injustice and Violence* ; and whether, if he had regarded *self* alone, any kind of *Death* would not be more eligible, than the matchless Sufferings, this ill-fated Man has already borne, and, if he lives, is yet to undergo ? — When I think of his Case, I cannot help running into the Exclamation of *Addison's* CATO, O ! Liberty ! — O ! Virtue ! — O ! my Country !

Now for a cursory Review of the censured Papers and a comparative Examination of the Proceedings had thereupon.

I BELIEVE the Persecutors of this unhappy *Assertor* of the *Liberties* of his *Country*, must allow it, the fairest Method of arguing upon these Points, from the Paragraphs collected by the *Head* † of the Party, and by him animadverted upon, with the utmost Sophistry and Acrimony, in a Pamphlet by him published, intitled, a LETTER from a Member of the H—e of C—ns, to a chief Magistrate of a Borough : *Relative to the V—s of the H—e of C—ns* of the 16th of October, 1749, This Letter was printed the Day following, which by the Bye, could not possibly have been done, if *that* and the *Proceedings*, for which it apologizes, were not concerted before they were made public.

IN

† Sir R— C—.

IN the *Complaint*, exhibited by this *once* celebrated *Patriot* to the H—e, the second Day of the S—n, the Accusation was, that a *Dedication* to the King, *several Addresses* and *Letters* to the *Citizens of Dublin*, and several Papers called *Censors*, *highly and unjustly reflected on the King*, Lord Lieutenant, or, as that *worthy M—r* mouthed it in the H—e, on his Majesty the L—d L—t and P —t, justified the bloody and barbarous *Rebellions in Ireland*, and tended to disunite the *Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects*, closely connected by the same civil and religious *Interests*.

WHETHER this learned and ingenuous Gentleman meant our legal Sovereign Lord, THE KING, in this Complaint, or to compliment the L—d L—t of I—d, with the Title of King, or his Majesty, has not yet transpired, or, whether he was unable to give any Colour to such a Charge, as reflecting on the King, or whether the L—d L—t declined assuming the Title of King, though thus offered him by the C—s, has not yet with Certainly been permitted to reach vulgar Ears. But, it is sure, that in the confirmed *Report of the Committee*, page 68, that Article is wisely and justly dropt, and the Tenor of the Accusation there, stands thus; that the several printed Papers, intitled, a Dedication to the KING, a first, a second, a fourth, an eighth, a tenth, an eleventh, and a fifteenth Address to the Free Citizens and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, subscribed, and voted to be wrote by C. Lucas, contain several Paragraphs highly, falsely and scandalously reflecting, not on his Majesty, but, on his E—y the Earl of —, L—d L—t, of I—d, tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions, which have been raised in that Kingdom,

Kingdom, and to create Jealousies between his Majesty's Subjects. To prove the Truth of which, and the *Wisdom* and *Equity* of the *Proceedings* of the H—e, this *worthy and most worshipful Member* wrote the *Letter* above recited to the chief Magistrate of *his Borough*. He lays down the Heads of his Accusations of Mr. *Lucas* as methodically, as emphatically.

I SHALL not at present, trouble the Reader with a critical Examination of this *most curious Letter*. I shall content myself, and I hope the Reader also, with extracting and stating, in a true Light, the Paragraphs *this Author*, recites from *Lucas's Works*, which were censured by the H—e. He distinguishes *Lucas's Crimes* under several Heads, thus,

• *Scandalous and false Reflections on the Lord-Lieutenant."*

UNDER this Head, he immediately quotes *Lucas's Dedication* to the King in the following Manner ; Page 33.

"ACCORDINGLY, in Behalf of myself, and the rest of the oppressed Citizens of this distressed City ; I presented a printed State of the Case, intituled the COMPLAINTS of DUBLIN, and containing full and just Information of our Grievances, to the Lord Harrington, then YOUR MAJESTY'S Vicegerent, in this Kingdom."

"HIS EXCELLENCY thought fit to admit me to an Audience ; seemed much affected with the Recital of our complicated Distresses ; promised to look narrowly into our Complaints, and to use his utmost Might to procure us a full and speedy Redress."

"BUT, with just Concern ! I beg leave to inform YOUR MAJESTY, that so far were the Complainants from obtaining any Kind of Satisfaction ; that I could

could never after gain, so much, as Access to HIS EXCELLENCY's Presence."

"THUS, YOUR MAJESTY may now see, that under the best of Kings, the noblest Form of Government, and the most wise and free System of Policy, the Subjects are liable to be spoiled of all the Benefits of the Constitution, and reduced to a State little better, than down-right *Slavery*; and yet, the *Invaders* of our RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, without YOUR MAJESTY's Interposition, may pass unpunished, uncensured!"

"IT is thus the giddy Multitude, who are unable to distinguish between the Actions of Kings, and those of a subordinate Administration, and are seldom capable of judging better, than from Events; may be taught to discredit and contemn that Government, however great, however excellent, under which, they cannot fully and securely enjoy their Freedom and Rights, and the general Benefits of their Constitution."

"HERE it is observable, that to make this Paragraph serve his Purposes, he forces poor *Lucas* to speak bad *English*, by making the Lord Lieutenant the *Invaders*, to which *Lucas* alludes in some preceding Paragraphs, which contains the following Complaint against the Justices of the King's Bench.

P. 31. "UPON Advice of YOUR MAJESTY's Prime Serjeant, Attorney-General, and many other eminent Lawyers, we commenced a Suit against the Aldermen in YOUR MAJESTY's Bench, for usurping the Right and Privilege of electing Aldermen."

"BY the Confession of the Court, we made out an ORIGINAL and INHERENT RIGHT to that Election, in the Commons and Citizens. The Court further declared, that if the Attorney-General appeared in Behalf of the Crown, our Suit must be granted; and that the like Demand with ours,
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should not, nay, could not, be one Moment refused, in any inferior Corporation in the Kingdom."

"OUR Demand was no less, than to be admitted to try, by due Course of Law, a Matter of Right and Property of the utmost Consequence, to many thousands of YOUR MAJESTY's best SUBJECTS. Yet, how shall I shock my SOVEREIGN's Ear with the Relation! Those who were intrusted with dispensing Law and Justice to YOUR PEOPLE, even with the *Custody* of YOUR MAJESTY's *most solemn Oath*, for Reasons best known to themselves, judged it *expedient*, though they could not say it was *legal*; to give us a peremptory Denial! They refused to admit us to bring the Matters in Contest to a final Determination, by a full and judicial Trial; and took upon them to determine, upon a mere Motion, in which the Merits of the Cause could not, possibly, appear, what was only to be determined by the Verdict of a Jury!"

"HERE, YOUR MAJESTY may please to observe, that an oppressive Innovation in the Constitution of this City, was attended with a shocking Breach of one of the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES of the national Constitution; instead of the just and necessary Redress, or Reparation!"

"PERMIT me to ask, MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, what was to be done under these sad Circumstances?—Who could, unaffected, see such dismal, such fatal Wounds offered the whole Constitution, such daring Insults to the Crown, such Injuries to the Subjects? Were these to be tamely, tacitly, slavishly borne?—No; he must be utterly unworthy of such a CONSTITUTION, of such a KING as OURS, who would not pursue the highest Offenders to the ultimate Resort."

"THEREFORE, as I had borne a principal Part in the Prosecution of the Affair, as a *Citizen*, and as
one

one of the *Trustees* of the *Sheriffs* and *Commons*; I thought it, in an especial Manner, incumbent on me to complain of these dangerous, these destructive Proceedings to an higher Power."

Now, whether the Word *Invaders* does not solely imply the *Judges*, and whether it includes *His Majesty*, or *his Excellency* the Lord Lieutenant, or not, I submit to his Lordship, and his *powerful Advocates*: For, if I understand common *English*, or the *Dedicator*, he does not complain to the King of his Lord-Lieutenant's *invading*, but *neglecting to punish* the *Invaders* of the Constitution; to do which he has an undoubted Right,——if the *wise* and *omnipotent Commons* think fit!

THE next Proof produced to this Point, is a Paragraph in Mr. *Lucas's* xvth Address. This whole Paper contains a very just Definition and Description of a Body-Politic; and shews the Signs by which every Man may always be able to discern, whether the great Body-Politic of the Realm be in an healthful, or distempered State. He begins with the first, and so goes on to the second and third Estate in our Government; shews the Justice and Legality of the Title of the late and present King to the Throne, and proves his own true Loyalty, and just Affection to these Princes, by giving each of them the most great and amiable Character; for which, among other Things, the *wise*, the pretended *Whig* *C*——ns have voted him an Enemy to his Country!

"BUT, (says he, p. 7,) as we are never to hope to feel or see the Sunshine of Majesty, in this poor Kingdom, except by dull Reflection, at second or third Hand, we may more strictly confine our Views to those who are deputed as *Vicegerents* to the HEAD; let these then be the Objects of our present medicinal Enquiry." Then he draws the

Character of a good and wise, and of a wicked or weak Lord Lieutenant ; and shews the Signs by which the Public may always discover under which they are governed, and the necessary Consequences that have accrued and must ever attend the *good* and *bad* Governors. All this without once glancing, by Name or Character, on the present L—— L———t. And yet, his Minions vainly thought to shew their Zeal for *his Honour*, in insisting that the very worst Character was drawn for him ! Let the World judge who are to blame.

THE Paragraph pitched upon in this Address, to criminate *Lucas*, as *falsely* and *maliciously reflecting upon the* L—— L———t, is the following, p. 14. “ I think I hear some of the *few* of you, that ever read any thing, relating to your Country, or yourselves, cry out, “ This is all very well ! Here is a most shocking Pourtrait, indeed ! But, what is this hideous Draught to us ? Sure all the World knows, *our Lord Lieutenant* is a *most excellent noble Man* : *Our Lords* are all descended from a *most illustrious Race of Nobility*, or created in pure Regard to their own *resplendent Merit and Virtue* : And *our Bishops*, though most of them be *Foreigners*, yet do they all perfectly fill their Stations, and prove themselves possessed of every *Grace and Virtue*, that can adorn them, in their *religious, or legislative Capacities*. Why then, should these hideous *Phantoms* be raised to frighten us ? ” — Mistaken Men ! Does a Man's being stiled his *Grace*, or his *Excellency*, *Right Honourable*, or *Right Reverend*, assuredly confer *Grace*, or *Excellency*, *Honor*, or *Reverence* ? — You cannot be so grossly absurd, as to imagine it. But, let the *Present* be as great and as good as you can boast, and that they are — what they are, bless God ; yet, should you still look back, and, from *passed Evils*, dread and guard against

against *Future*." Upon which, the Author of the *Letter* has this emphatic Exclamation, "*Worse Language than this, could not be given the vilest Misdemeanor.*" And so acquits his Excellency of Evils never laid, nor intended to be laid to his Charge! And boasts of the *Gratitude* and general *Virtue* of the *Country* in resenting and punishing—an unintended Affront to his Excellency!

THE Second Foundation for Accusation is stated,

"To promote Sedition and Insurrections."

THIS is laid on the following Quotations. The first is from Address II. p. 8. "It is my utmost Pride, that I am a *Tradesman* and *Citizen* of DUBLIN, and that I am neither of *Family*, *Fortune*, *Education*, or *Principle* to recommend me, to what the World falsely calls *Great Men*, that is, *Men in Power*; or *modern*, that is, *new-fashioned Gentlemen*. Do but reflect, who have restored, and now uphold the Freedom and Rights of Sweden. You will find they were the poor despised *Tradesmen* and *Peasants*, whose *Representatives*, in their *Parliament*, tho' called from their *Trades*, their *Shops*, or their *Ploughs*, are now the principal Opponents of the Incroachments on PUBLIC LIBERTY, and its boldest and best Asserters. Who long preserved the sinking States of *Holland* from impending Slavery, and lately restored the original Frame of Government, against the Power of many corrupt Tyrants, grown great by the Spoils of their Country? Was not this done by the *Tradesmen*, headed, at first, by no more considerable Persons, than a *Blacksmith* and a *Wheelwright*? What has often prevented the Ruin of a neighbouring Nation, when a Minister practised in *Perfidy* and *Corruption*, packed *Place-Men*, *Pensioners*,

ers and other *venal Slaves* and *Prostitutes*, in such Crowds, into Parliament, that he could gain every End he proposed there?—It was the *Virtue* and *Freedom* of the *TRADESMEN* of *LONDON* alone, which prevented many *anticonstitutional Bills* from being carried into Execution, that had passed both Houses of Parliament.——In this Class my Pride would place me, if my Fortune had not. Here I contentedly, gladly cast my Anchor.”—— Judge of the Truth of this by my Conduct, thro’ all the Offices in which I have already served you. And as a Bond for future Behaviour, accept these public Declarations.—It is time to lay *Self* aside ; but let me first inform you, that tho’ I have publicly offered myself a Candidate for the Place of a *CITIZEN* to represent you in Parliament, it is but to let you see my Intention and Desire, however weak and insufficient you may find me, to serve in the sinking Cause of *LIBERTY* and my *COUNTRY*. From the same Motive, incapable as I am of the Task, if the *Citizens* of *Dublin* Commanded me, on any Emergency, to lead an Army for them, I should certainly obey them. Their *Free Choice* shall ever determine me in all Matters.” But, he artfully leaves out the Beginning of the Paragraph, which is, “ However short of this Character I may be found to have fallen, if I know myself, I can, of a Truth, say, it has ever been uppermost in my View, and that it is from these Principles alone, I am now prompted to offer myself for an *high Station* among you. Could I have Means of laying my Bosom open to you, I should not fear being able to acquit myself of Undertaking this *arduous Task*, for you, thro’ *Pride* or unbecoming *Ambition*. I assure you I am most perfectly contented with being cast among the *lower Class* of Men, with regard to *Station* and *Grandeur*;
for

for there, in all Nations, at this, nay, at all Times, do we find most Freedom and Virtue;" and the End, which runs thus, " And to shew my *inviolable* Regard to their *Freedom*s, I scorn, disdain and detest all the little *base anticonstitutional* Arts of modern Candidates, to gain the *Voices* of men; and if any *mistaken* Friend should attempt to influence any *Man* to *Vote* for me, on any other Principle than FREE CHOICE, let it not be looked upon, as my Act, I renounce, and *protest* against it.——The Man who acts on constitutional Principles cannot, in any *Instance*, *invade* or *restrain* the LIBERTIES of his *Neighbour*. He must think it, therefore *desig*ning, if not *Criminal* to influence a *Voice* to bring him into Parliament, as it would be to influence a *Sheriff* to put him on a *Jury*.——Suppose yourselves, then, *Sheriffs*, and any Man solicited you to be put on a *Pannel*, would you not, therefore *suspect* and *reject* him? You could not avoid it.——In the Case of an *Election*, you act in a *judicial Capacity* as much as a *Sheriff* does. Your *Vote* is not entirely your own. You cannot without *Perfidy*, a Breach of Trust to Society, give it, thro' *Interest* or *Compliment* to any Man. He is a *wicked, low Tyrant* that demands or accepts of it, on these Terms, and cannot therefore be fit to *represent*, nor, indeed, to be *represented* by, any Body. And the only Difference between *him*, and *those* that comply with him, can be no more than that between the *Tempter* and the *Tempted*, both, at best, are *criminal*.——It is an Honour to represent F R E E M E N, but none but a *Slave* can submit to be the *Representative* of *Slaves*." Because, with them, the Quotation could not convey the *intended Virulence* of the Prosecutor.

I SHALL let the Quotation now speak for itself, and only remind the Reader, Mr. *Lucas* was then
ex-

extremely decrepid with the *Gout*, that the *Commissioners* for arraying the *Militia* in *Dublin*, are a Part of the *Citizens*, who have it in their Power to appoint all the Officers; and that in every correct Impression it stands, on any just *Emergency*. Then, let it be considered, how far the Charge of *promoting Sedition and Insurrections*, is made out. — Was ever Man more injured, more to be pitied?

THE Second criminating Quotation is made with equal *Candour and Justice*. This is taken from the Conclusion of a Paragraph in Address iv. p. 1, “The *Standard of Liberty* must then be raised in your City, and it can never be in the Power of *Tyranny* or *Artifice* to pull it down, while such *Numbers* of well-disciplined FREEMEN are, voluntarily, enlisted under the GLORIOUS BANNER.” This seems to sound somewhat harshly, without the Context. I shall just add that, and distinguish the *Accuser's* Quotation, and leave the World to judge whether or no this Figure conveys any Malignity. ‘As every Man’s Life, Liberty and Property, are but precarious and insecure, who does not know something of the Constitution of his Country, so every Man who would secure these Blessings to himself, to his Neighbour and to Posterity, should first equip himself with the Knowledge of the Principles of that Policy and Government, under which he lives, or of which he is a Member; as the best Shield to ward against the Abuse of Power, and the Inroachments from the Great, to which, from the Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, the inferior Members of Society are constantly exposed.’

‘SINCE the Bulk of the CITIZENS of *Dublin* want but this Branch of useful Knowledge, to make them vie with, nay, out-shine all the Cities of these Kingdoms, in exerting the Spirit of

LIBERTY, by Force and Fraud, too long suppressed among them, the chief, the sole Contest among us, MY BELOVED, MY HONoured BRETHREN, should be, who should first lay the Constitution of our Country open to our View, and explain the *Powers* and *Prerogatives* of those intrusted to govern, and the *Freedom* and *Privileges* of those to be governed. When these are fully known, your steady Virtue cannot fail in restraining the *one* and supporting the *other* by proper *Mears* and *Bounds*. “The *Standard* of *Liberty* must then be raised, in your City, and it can never be in the Power of *Tyranny* or *Artifice* to pull it down, while such *Numbers* of well disciplined FREEMEN are, voluntarily, enlisted under the GLORIOUS BANNER.” Now, who can wrest any evil Design out of these free and generous Sentiments?

THE third Quotation is also a Fragment of a very long Paragraph in Address 11, page 30. By which, it is said, “*Lucas* intended to justify all the Rebellions in that Kingdom.” The *Accusers*, particularly the *Author* of the *Letter*, begin with, “Upon these subjects and all Men and Matters, relating thereto, I have, upon all Occasions, spoke and wrote my Sentiments, freely ; and what is still worse, I have determined and declared, as I do by these Presents ; that I will continue so to do, to the last Gasp of my Breath, or the total Extinction of Corruption and Tyranny.” Now, let any dispassionate Man take in the smallest Portion of the Context, and he must acquit *Lucas* of any evil Intention whatsoever. Then let it stand thus, for Example, as in the original ; “Since I became acquainted with the melancholy Affairs, and deplorable Circumstances of the City, I have loudly exclaimed against the Instruments of our Distresses ; plucked the *Masques* from the *Faces* of your *Inslavers*, and

M shewed

shewed several of the Abuses and Impositions, from time to time, cast upon the *Citizens* in general, the *Commons* in particular, by the Board of *Aldermen*; whose *Usurpations* and *Tyranny* have brought the whole Corporation to the Verge of Destruction, by *monopolising* and wasting the Lands and Funds, destined for the support of the City, and by such gross Misuse or Abuse of the *Charters*, as has Subjected them to a Forfeiture.' "Upon these subjects, and all Men and Matters relating thereto, I have, upon all Occasions, spoke and wrote my Sentiments, freely; and, what is still worse, I have determined and declared, as I do by these Presents, that I will continue so to do, to the last Gasp of my Breath, or the total Extinction of Corruption and Tyranny." Does this Saviour of *Rebellion*, *Sedition*, or *Disaffection*? What Man in his Senses can say it does? Yet, this is a *Capital Accusation* against this unhappy *Refugee*!

THE third part of the Charge against Mr. *Lucas* stands thus;

"*Openly to justify the several horrid and bloody rebellions, which have been raised in this Kingdom.*"

THE first Quotation to prove this, is another imperfect Fragment of a Paragraph taken from Mr. *Lucas's* 10th Address, in which he does the greatest Honour to the *British* Constitution, of any Writer extant; but claims the Benefit of the like Constitution for *Ireland*; how justly I cannot take upon me to say, but, sure it is a pardonable, if not a laudable Partiality to his native Country to claim *Liberty*, as an inherent *Birth-right* to her Sons.

IN this Paper, Mr. *Lucas* sets forth *Ireland's* Title to be governed by her own *Parliaments*, from Quotations of ancient *Charters* and *Statutes*, which if they

they be just, cannot, by me be confuted ; so I shall, for the present, wave the Argument, and come to the Point of *Accusation*. This is laid, page 24. “ But it probably was then, as well known, as it must now be confessed, that there was no general Rebellion in *Ireland*, since the first *British Invasion*, that was not *raised* or *fomented*, by the *Oppression*, *Instigation*, *evil Influence*, or *Connivance* of the *English*. ” Now, I beg leave to take the Reader a little further back and make a fairer Quotation to inform his Judgment. In page 21, stands this remarkable Paragraph ;

‘ WITH shame and Grief ! it must be confessed, that by frequent Troubles, raised in *Ireland*, mostly, by the *cruel* and *tyrannical* Conduct of many of the *Governors*, or *military Commanders* and *Judges*, sent from *England* into this Kingdom, who caused, or suffered the People to be so grieved and oppressed, with *arbitrary*, and insupportable Taxes and Impositions, and who administered Justice and Law, so partially and corruptly, as to give the *native Irish*, as well, as the *English-Irish*, such an Aversion to the *English* Government, as to drive the whole Inhabitants, either back again to the *Brehon Laws*, and other *Irish Customs*, or to fly back to *England* for Refuge ; as shall be, hereafter, shewn, more at large ; from these like Confusions, Parliaments could not, then, as often meet, or, as regularly sit, as might be wished. And, therefore, instead of framing Laws, of anew, for themselves ; the *Irish* Parliaments, for some time contented them, with receiving and confirming such *English* Acts, as they judged conducive to the good Government of the Realm ; which may be seen at large, in Lord Chief Baron *Bolton*’s Edition of *Irish Statutes*.’

For the tyrannical Conduct of *Governors* and *Judges*, he might have given many Proofs more, than he

offers in the 11th Address, from our illustrious Countryman, Sir *John Davies*, Attorney General, in that Kingdom, to King *James, I.* After some Quotations and Arguments for the *Power and Independence* of the *Irish* Parliament, he comes to the Paragraph, which is distorted and broken to afford an Accusation against this well-meaning, innocent Man : Entire it stands thus ;

‘ HAD the modern *Solecism* in Government, the *subjecting the Legislature of one Kingdom to that of another*, had any footing in former Ages, or that the *British Parliament* had any Authority to make Laws for *Ireland*, we should not find, that, in such troubled, or confused times, as Parliaments might not be freely, or safely called or held in *Ireland* ; the King called and held Parliaments, in *England*, consisting of *Irish Lords and Commons*, only ; well knowing, that none other Persons, under Heaven, had a Right to make Laws, for this Kingdom. That there were such Parliaments held in *England*, appears by a Writ of King *Edward the first*, of Record, in the *white Book* of the *Exchequer*. And that *Knights, Citizens and Burgeses* were summoned and attended, to represent this Kingdom, in a Parliament, in *England*, appears, by *Writs* for levying the *Wages* of such Members, of Record in the Tower of *London*, the fiftieth of *Edward the third*. These were done at times, when *England*, had a much better Colour, for taking us, by the short Cut, to *Slavery*, that some *wicked Ministers* have lately found out. “ But it probably was, then, as well known as it must now be confessed, that there was no general Rebellion in *Ireland*, since the first *British Invasion*, that was not raised or fomented, by the *Oppression, Instigation, evil Influence, or Connivance* of the *English*.” Let the World hence judge, whether from these, any handle may be taken to
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tyranise over all Classes of Men, in this Kingdom, indiscriminately !

AFTER this, the 11th Address is ransacked for criminal Accusations, in the same Manner as I have shewn the precedent. I must confess however, that the Expressions are somewhat *tart*, and I cannot help wishing, there had been in general less Warmth in this unhappy Man's Writing. I shall in this only do him Justice by annexing the Context to the broken Paragraphs recited, which I shall distinguish by double inverted *Commas*, to shew the Malignity of his Accusers ; and so connect his Sense and Meaning, and put it in the fair and true Light, then let it speak for it self.

PAGE 4. " But to come to that part, which more nearly concerns us ; let us, but examine the Effects produced, by *Oppression and Tyranny*, in *Ireland*.

' I now find myself engaged in the most disagreeable, I may say, offensive Part of my Task ; exposing the Misconduct of OUR MOTHER NATION, *England*. This I undertake, with the utmost Reluctance : For, having neither *Consanguinity*, or *Affinity*, nor even *Fosterhood*, with any *Irish* Family, in the Kingdom, I cannot be suspected of Prejudice.' " But, as the only Method of obviating the *Visitation* of the *Offences* of our *Forefathers* upon us, is to *disclaim* them, and shew, that we are not the *Children of Disobedience*, by *detesting* and *avoiding their Vices* ; and as the Cure of the *Distemper*, of which we complain, must depend upon exposing it to open View, LIBERTY shall guide my feeble Pen, and TRUTH shall bring the foul Misdeeds to Light. So may all Parties concerned, see *English Treachery, Oppression and Tyranny*, in their native Deformity, in order to judge of their *present* and *future* evil Consequences, by the *passed*."

" IN

‘ IN this Narration, I shall reject all Accounts, by the Oral Tradition of *Irish* Bards, or Historians ; least, as inclined to be *fabulous*, or as *Parties concerned*, they may be justly suspected of *Fallacy*, or *Partiality*. I shall, therefore, rest what I have to offer, upon this Head, solely on the Testimony of living Records, cited by *English Writers* of unquestionable Authority ; particularly, that great Ornament to his Profession and Station, for Learning and Probity, Sir *John Davies*, Attorney-General to King *James* the first.’

“ WE hear nothing more generally and justly censured, by all sensible and free *English* Men, than the *Treachery* and *Barbarity* practised by the *Spaniards*, upon the Natives of *Mexico*, in the Conquest of that Country. Thus Men, insensible of the *Beams*, in their *own Eyes*, discover *Motes* in the *Eyes* of *their Neighbours* ! Strange ! that Men, who well knew the Value of Liberty, were sensible, of its being an *Inheritance*, to which all the Sons of *Adam* were *Co-heirs* ; and who claimed and enjoyed all the Advantages thereof, in their Country, as their *peculiar Birth-Right*, should think of invading the Rights of others, who did not interfere with them ! Or, that they should think *Tyranny* intolerable from any Hands, but theirs ! When, it must be more grievous and distressing from *British*, than any others !”

“ YET, notwithstanding, with Shame and Grief, I tell it ! The *Mexicans* were never used worse, by the *barbarous Spaniards*, than the *poor Irish* were, for some Centuries, by the *English*”

‘ IT is evident, from the Recitals in the *foregoing Address*, that all the *Liberties*, *Privileges* and *Immunities*, and all the *Free Customs* and *Laws* of *England* were granted to the *People* of *Ireland*, in general, without any Reserve, or Distinction ; and for
ever

ever established and confirmed in the Kingdom, for the common Right and Benefit of all the, then, present and future Inhabitants. The Lives, Liberties and Properties of all the Irish, were, hereby made, as secure, as those of the English, then, were. The same Measure and Bond of Perogative and Allegiance, was established for ever, between the King and the People of both Nations: And all Trespasses, Transgressions, and Crimes were to be tried by the same Form, and the accused, acquitted, or punished, by the same Laws, and not otherwise. This was the sum of the ORIGINAL COMPACT, entered into, by the King and People, mutually: They granted the Kingdom to him; and chose and acknowledged him, as their King; and he, in return, gave them, the same Laws and Privileges, and in general, the same Constitution, with his English Subjects, in all Points; by which, and by none other, they should be for ever governed.'

' THESE mutual Obligations were, on all sides, ratified, by Charters, Oaths and all the firmest and most solemn Securities, that could be offered. And, therefore, no Party had, or could have a Right, in any Manner, or Degree, to violate this sacred Compact, nor to recede from it, in any Instance, without the Consent of the other. This was, this, lawfully and justly and truly, is the established Constitution of Ireland, upon as firm and unalterable a Foundation, as that of England.'

' THIS ESTABLISHMENT encouraged great Numbers of English to come from time to time into Ireland, where they were to enjoy the full Benefits of the British Constitution; and, in Consequence of this, the Irish were to hope no less, than that their Lives their civil and religious Liberties, their Properties and Possessions were safe and secure, upon the Principles of the Policy of England. And, that no further Distinction should be made, between the
English

English and the *Irish*, in the Kingdom, than was made between the *Normans* and the *English* upon the Settlement of that Kingdom, after the *Norman* Invasion. But that all should fully and equally enjoy the Benefits and Advantages of this new Constitution, without any Obstruction, Inroad, or Molestation, from any Quarter. The happy Fruits of which, must have been a perfect, firm Union of all Classes of Men in the *Island*, in one common Interest, upon the same invariable Principles. Had *Liberty* and *Property* been thus, justly, secured, *Industry* would, long since, have taken Root among us, *Agriculture* would have been universally encouraged, to the Reduction of the vast dreary Wilds and Wastes of *Bogs*, *Lakes* and *Fens*, which cover the Face of the *Island*; *Arts* of all Kinds would have been established, and *Trade* and *Commerce* universally extended; which would have made us a great and happy People.

BUT, mark the dread Effects of *Oppression* and *Tyranny*! The specious Shew of *English* *Laws* and *Customs* and a better Constitution, in general, offered, nay, granted to the *Irish*, appears to have been, but the *Lure* of *Liberty*, thrown like gaudy *Feathers* to catch an *Hawk*, or held like *Oats* to catch an *Horse*; of which neither can, or is allowed to taste: For, regardless of all moral and legal Considerations; regardless of the Honour and Dignity and the public Faith of the Crown of *England*, pledged for the Security of this most solemn Compact, in *Henry* the Second and every succeeding King; the *Irish* were soon after, robbed of all the promised Advantages of a *British* Constitution; and again drove into the same wretched Barbarisms, to which they had before been reduced, by the Cruelty of preceding *Invaders*; and from which, they now had

a Prospect of being redeemed, or reclaimed, by wholesome *English Laws and Liberties.*

FOR, notwithstanding the most ample *Donations and Concessions*, in my former Address, recited, and many others from the Crown, particularly in the Reigns of *Henry the Second, John and Henry the Third*, it is evident, from all the Records of these Times, that the *native Irish* were never allowed to share the full Benefits of the *English Constitution*, granted to the whole Kingdom at large, and to all the People without Distinction; but, that on the contrary, all the Benefits and Advantages of Liberty and the Laws, were monopolised by the *English Governors and Judges*: None being allowed to enjoy them, but the *English*, or such of the *Irish* as were able to purchase *Charters*, or *Acts of Denization*, or *Infranchisement* for themselves and their Families. Nay, further; the *Irish* in general were, absolutely treated worse than the *Victims* of the most *Savage Barbarians*; as bad as the *Spaniards* used the *Mexicans*; or, as inhumanly as the *English* now treat their *Slaves* in *America*: For they, were looked upon not only, as *Slaves and Aliens*, but were reputed *Enemies* to the Crown of *England*, or rather *Out-Laws*; and as such, upon all Occasions they were treated: In as much, as they were not only debarred the common Right of bringing Actions against any of the *English* for Debts, or Trespasses; but they were held so far out of the Protection of the Law, that it was not adjudged *Murder or Felony* in an *Englishman*, to kill an *Irishman*, even in Times of general Peace and Amity.

MANY Instances might be produced, from the most authentic Records, to prove these Allegations. Sir *John Davies* recites many in *Birmingham Tower*, in the *Castle*. How they may be preserved, since the keeping these Records has been made a Place of *Profit* and a *Sine-Cure* for a favourite Tool, like

many other public Offices, I cannot take upon me to say ; I hope it will be sufficient Authority, for my present Purpose, to recite some few Cases, from Sir *John's* Tract, intituled ' A Discovery of the true Causes why *Ireland* was never entirely subdued, nor brought under Obedience to the Crown of *England*, until the Reign of King *James* the First.' Of these lawless Outrages, he recites some very remarkable Instances ; and shews, " that there is no essential Difference between depriving Men of the due Benefits of the established Law, and imposing Laws upon them, without their Consent." The Consequences which attended the former, he recites and glances at those, that may be dreaded from the latter. However mistaken these Notions may be, sure they cannot be judged criminal? Then comes on the next Quotation, Page 18th. The whole Paragraph stands thus ;

' It might reasonably be imagined, that People who bravely and justly claim and enjoy all the Liberties and Priviledges that Men can desire, could not think of inroaching on those of any others, who did not interfere with them ; and much less, can they be supposed capable of violating the *inherent* and *hereditary Rights* and *Liberties* of their Off-spring, their *Bretbren*, their *natural Allies*, and their *inseparable* and *invariable Friends* ! Yet, such has been the unaccountable Infatuation of *England*, that, though the Ministry must be sensible of the recited, ill Effects of *their Oppressing* the *Irish*, and that neither *Peace* or *Concord*, nor the Interest of the *Crown* of *England*, was established, in *Ireland*, till the ORIGINAL COMPACT was restored, and the *Benefit* of the *Laws*, universally, diffused throughout the whole Kingdom, in the Reign of King *James* the First ; nevertheless, have the *English* taken several unjust Handles to crush us, and to suppress that *Spirit of Liberty*, that *Valour* and *Indus-*
try

try which alone should prove Us, *their Descendants*, and without which, we can neither be inclined, or enabled to defend, or support the *British* Interest, at home, or abroad. "And all this, when
 " all sensible *Englishmen* must confess, that no civil
 " War, or Rebellion was ever raised in *Ireland*,
 " since the *British* Invasion; but by the Oppres-
 " sion, or through the Encouragement, or Conni-
 " vance of the *English* Governors;" and that then
 they were never universal: For, our CITY has
 been ever invariable in Loyalty: And, when it is
 most certain, that no King upon Earth ever knew
 more loyal and brave Subjects than the *Irish*, under
 the Enjoyment of their constitutional Rights and
 Liberties, those of *English* Extraction, especially,
 have ever, and upon all Occasions proved.

AND now, to learn the Purport of these Recitals,
 let me add one more from the same Address, p. 22.

" I must confess, I yet think so respectfully of the pre-
 sent Parliament of *England*, as to be persuaded that
 upon laying these anticonstitutional Grievances,
 properly before them, they cannot fail of giving us
 the just and necessary Redress: Since, it is to me,
 more than demonstrable, that no true Friend to Li-
 berty, no true Friend to the King and Constitution
 of *Ireland*, no true Friend to the King and Consti-
 tution of *Great Britain*, no true Friend to Man-
 kind, or to himself, can see and patiently suffer
 such iniquitous Innovations, such violent Outrages
 on the Constitution, as evidently tend to the Sup-
 pression, or Subversion of Liberty, Justice and
 Laws; to the overturning the Frame of our Go-
 vernment, to the Destruction of the inherent Rights
 of the People of this Kingdom, and to the present
 indelible Disgrace and Dishonour, as well as to the
 future inevitable Ruin of the other."

Now, let any Man of common Understanding and
 void of Prejudice, weigh these Matters, and see,

if there be any *malignant Intention* couched under them! Can a Man, zealous for making any Part of Mankind free, especially the Subjects of our Crown, and of his native Country, be deemed, with Justice, an *Enemy* to any good King, to any good Government, to any free Country, much less to *his Own*? No, it is impossible any where, but with a perpetual I—sh P——t.

THE fourth Article of the Charge against this abused Man, stands thus in the *Letter*.

‘To create *Jealousies* between his Majesty’s Subjects.’

THE Quotation to prove this happens, like the rest, to appear somewhat decrepid. It is taken from Address XV. p. 10. ‘You have not less to dread from a *corrupt Lieutenant*, than from a *foreign Army*.’ This, the mistaken *Flatterers* of the present L——d L———t, particularly the *learned Author* of the *Letter*, apply to H— E——y and to the *present Army* in the Kingdom, as if the first were palpably *corrupt*, and the second really *Foreigners*! The Reader may see, the Paragraph quoted is but half stopt; now let him but read the subsequent Part, and the adjoining Paragraph, and condemn the *poor Fugitive* if he can. The remainder of the Sentence is this; ‘for, as the Distempers of the Head must ever be communicated to the *Body*; such an one, as I have described, is enough to infect, nay, to poison a more strong and extensive State than ours. If the Constitution be strong and vigorous, such a distempered Head will cause violent Shocks, *Fevers* in the State, to shake off the *morbid Matter*; but, if weak, it must end in agonising *Convulsions*, or linger out in a languid and deplorable *Consumption*, some of the Limbs becoming *Paralytic*, before the final Dissolution.’

‘It is every Citizen and Subject’s Duty, to watch the Invasion of any of these *Diseases*, of which I have

have here enumerated the *Symptoms*, in the *Head*; and to warn the *Commons* thereof, whose Duty and Office it is, to interpose *parliamentary Remedies*, by the *Instruction* and at the *Demand* of their *Constituents*.—See, in this Respect, how much depends on the *Wisdom* and *Virtue* of your *Commons*! And how much their *Sense* and *Virtue* depends upon those of their *Constituents*, is already made manifest.

IF this be criminal what Man alive is safe? Let Persecution and lawless Oppression rage ever so furiously, at this Rate, who will dare complain, or even sigh?

THE fifth and last Article in the Accusation is that 'CHARLES LUCAS, scandalously and maliciously misrepresented the Proceedings of the present House of Commons and highly reflected on the Honour and Dignity thereof.'

FOR Proof of this Article, another Sentence is with equal Ease, Justice and Candour, as the former disjointed and knocked asunder. I must trouble the Reader with reciting the whole Passage and marking the Part, picked out for the Accusation, with double inverted Comma's, for Distinction.

ADDRESS XV. p. 5, 6, 7. 'To begin then *physical Order*, with the HEAD of the BODY POLITIC.'

'If I were here to confine myself to the *real* and *true Head*, OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING; I could with strict Truth and Justice, without glancing at Flattery, or Compliment; shew, that this *Body Politic*, or that of *England*, never had one *more just, more legal, more sound, or more strictly, or generally CONSTITUTIONAL*, than BOTH the KINGS of the present Family have proved themselves. The most inveterate and malignant Enemies of THESE PRINCES must, with me, confess, that THEY were *called* to the Throne, by the *unerring Voices* of a BRAVE, FREE PEOPLE, upon pure CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES, to rescue our *Lives and Liberties*,

ties, our Religion and Laws, from Arbitrary Power and anticonstitutional, hereditary Tyranny. And, I can defy the most obdurate Antagonists of THIS FAMILY, or the most strenuous Advocates for the Slavery, from which THEY were called to free us ; to give a single Instance of any anticonstitutional Scheme laid, or one arbitrary Step taken, in the Government of these Kingdoms, by either of THESE KINGS, since the Accession of the First, or Second to the Throne. No ; not so much as a foreign Favourite has been introduced into the Councils or Ministry of Britain, or Ireland, by THEIR Directions ; but, both Nations have been ruled and governed, by the Principles of their own Policy, or by the Advice and Consent of their Parliaments ; where alone all the Grievances, that may, with any Reason, be complained of, are to be charged.

“ I need not go to Particulars to prove the Truth of these Positions : I think it enough to shew, in general that though THESE PRINCES found, in these Kingdoms, at sundry different times, the most ignorant and corrupt Parliaments ; such as have struck at the very Foundation of our Constitutions, by making many anticonstitutional Acts, and imposing such an Immensity of *Debts, Taxes and Penal Laws*, as were never before known, in these Realms ; and such, as had they been vested in the Hands of any of the preceding Kings, within this Century, would, in all Probability, not have left so much as a *Wreck* behind whereby our Government might be, now, known, or remembered ;” ‘ yet, have you still, PARLIAMENTS and JURIES, and all the other *essential Privileges and Rights*, inherent to your Constitution ; while you have the Wisdom and Virtue to assert and support them.”

‘ THESE Considerations alone, are sufficient to make every sensible and dispassionate Man, content and happy under such an HEAD. It is, to me, most certain, that some Centuries hence, if
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any Traces of the *British* Government will be so long permitted to remain; and that the History of *England* will be fairly transmitted to those Times, and read; that, when the furious, blind Spirits of Faction and Discontent are dead, and it be coolly considered, what kind of *Parliaments*, and what a *Ministry* infested *England* in his Reign; the Memory of GEORGE the First will be had in greater Reverence, than that of any of those, to whom *Glory* and *Immortality* are, now, attributed. That this poor Kingdom did not reap all the Benefits of his noble, wise, and just Disposition to govern it, agreeable to the Constitution, is, solely to be attributed, to his *Evil Counsellors* in the *Parliaments* of *England* and *Ireland*: For, had either but rightly informed him of his *Prerogative* in *Ireland*, or of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of his *Irish* Subjects, it is not to be imagined, that so brave, so just a Prince could submit to be made, but a *Titular King* of a *nominal* Kingdom, and its *Inhabitants Slaves*: For, such were both rendered, when *E—sh A—s* of *P—t* were made to bind *Ireland*, without the *Consent*, or even, the *Knowledge* of the *People*; but, more especially, when the King and People were *stripped* of their parliamentary Judicature, in this Kingdom!—Thus, you see, that *without removing the evil Counsellors from before the KING*, you can hardly hope to find his *THRONE established in Righteousness*; or in the *Hearts* of his *People*, on which alone, it can securely stand.

I HOPE, by this, every Reader will be satisfied, this poor Man meant not to reflect upon the *King*, as has been wickedly insinuated and charged. Then, how does this tend to *misrepresent the Proceedings* of the present *H—se* of *C—s* of *I—d*, or to *reflect* on its *Honour* and *Dignity*? Sure *guilty Consciences* can alone point this out! Might not both these *Kings* have had *ignorant* and *corrupt Parliaments*,

ments, both in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, at sundry Times, without reflecting on the *present*? Might not *GEORGE I.* have had a bad Parliament in *Ireland*, and *GEORGE II.* bad Parliaments in *England*, and the Honour and Virtue of both the present Parliaments remain untainted and unblemished? Can any Man, whose Heart is not corroded with Gall and Guilt, deny it? No; not possibly. And yet, this is the sole Accusation, upon which the unhappy *Lucas* was deprived of his Liberty, voted a close Prisoner to a noisome Goal, under the Custody of his avowed Enemies!

I HAVE gone thus minutely and accurately through all the most subtle and malignant Accusations and Charges made against this poor Man, by his most artful and virulent Enemies; and I now dare appeal to any sensible and dispassionate Reader, whether this Man be, by any Principle of the Laws of *Great-Britain*, which are said to be the Laws of *Ireland*, worthy of *Stripes* or of *Bonds*? And yet, it is demonstrable, he has already suffered what no Principle of Law, Justice or Humanity can authorize or justify. And notwithstanding, we see by the Sequel, his Persecution is not at an End: For, we find, all other Means failing, the *Star-chamber Inquisition* is revived in *I——d*, to suppress, or extinguish, in this loyal Subject, all Pretensions or Claims to, nay, to efface the very Traces of, Liberty in that Kingdom, for ever! For my Part, had he been a Native of the most remote Deserts of *Asia* or *Africa*, that thus endeavoured to inculcate the Principles of Liberty, to improve civil Society, and to exalt the Dignity of human Nature itself, I could not avoid revering his Character, and condoling for his Affliction. But, when I see a *Fellow-Subject*, under the same or the like System of Government with me, persecuted with the utmost Fury and Outrage, deprived of all the Privileges, that
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the most notorious Criminals enjoy under our Laws, my Heart bleeds, not only for this single Member, but for the whole Community, from which he is thus violently torn ; and I dread the *Contagion* of neighbouring *Slavery*, worse, than that of the most virulent and raging *Pestilence*.

It is observed by Historians, that the *Sweating Distemper*, which raged here in the Reign of King Henry VII. proved fatal to the *English* and to the *English* only, in all Soils and Climates in the World.

By this it appears, there is a Similarity in the Blood and Juices of *Englishmen*, which alters not by transplanting into foreign Regions. The greatest Part of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* are either *English*, or Descendants of *English* Families : Besides, they live under the same System of Laws and Government with us, which makes a Similarity of Manners also. Now, is there any thing more probable, than that if any Contagion, *Slavery* especially, rages among these our Brethren, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects in *Ireland*, it will be introduced among us ? Are we so free of all Taint, are our *Blood* and *Juices* so pure, as to be insusceptible of *Infection* ? I must say, I doubt it. And, that were it certainly so, it is our indispensable Duty to obviate the Progress of this destructive Evil, and preserve the Freedom and Rights of all the Subjects of our *Crown*, as we tender the Security of our own.

I CANNOT conclude without taking a summary Review of the Case of this wretched Sufferer.

He has then contended for the Rights of his Fellow-Subjects in general, his Fellow-Citizens in particular, for several Years : He made out their Rights and Privileges, and shewed the Incroachments and Usurpations made on them by evil Governors, corrupt or ignorant Parliaments, and weak

or *wicked Magistrates*. And, though the most powerful Enemies rose up against him, none appeared able to confront or contradict him. He moved the *Courts of Law*; the Courts of Law denied him *Justice*. He complained of the Proceedings of the *Judges* to the *L—d L———t*, to whom he pays the utmost Deference and Respect; but, from him obtained *no Redress* or Satisfaction. He published a Copy and Translation of the principal Charter of the City, and dedicated it, in the most affectionate, loyal and dutiful Terms, to HIS MAJESTY, as the *Founder* and *Guardian* of all Corporations. He delivered this Charter and this Dedication, which contains an *Appeal* to the SOVEREIGN, to the *Lords Justices*, praying the forwarding it in due Course to HIS MAJESTY. They kept it from the 11th of *June* to the 4th of *August*, and then returned it, without finding any Fault, or assigning any Cause; though Mr. *Lucas* expostulated with them severally upon it. He then presented these, with other Papers, particularly an Address full of Respect and Duty, to the *L—d L———t*. He was graciously received, had his Books and Papers thankfully accepted, and he obtained Leave to wait upon h— E———y again; but, when he came, instead of Admittance, even to a Place, by Right, as common, as the *Royal Exchange* to all the Subjects, he was disgracefully dismissed. The first Day of the S——n, he was levelled at in h— E———y's Sp——h from the T——ne, as he was pleased in private to explain it, for no undocumented Reader took it in that Sense. The second Day of the S——n, he was complained of in the H——e of C——s; the next Day, he was examined, as an Evidence,——to *criminate himself*. Other Witnesses were also produced against him, which he was not permitted to con-

confront, or even to hear. Without any legal Proof against him, without hearing him in his own Justification, he was censured and condemned ; ordered close Prisoner to Goal, under the Custody of his avowed *Enemies*, and to be *prosecuted* before the very *Judges*, of whose *Iniquity* he complained ! Could a Protestant be worse treated in a *Spanish Inquisition* ?

He retired, for the Peace of the City, and gave up his Election, to wait patiently for *better Days* and *Judges*. But, the Enmity of his *Persecutors* pursued him in his *Exile*. Two *Grand Juries* are *packed* for him the next Term, by his declared *Enemies*, the *Sheriffs*, or their *Deputies* ; one for the County of the City, another for the County of *Dublin*. These were composed of *Aldermen*, *Writers* against Mr. *Lucas*, *Persons* with whom he had actual *Quarrels*, *Placemen*, *Dependents* on the *Ministry*, *pretended Converts* from *Popery*, and the like. The *Lord Chief Justice*, *Lucas's* most implacable Adversary, delivered a learned Charge to these *Juries*, which he afterwards published for the Use of *other Grand Juries*. In this, he lets them and the World see, that they were impannelled or *packed* to *indict Lucas*: For, *Lucas* is his principal Theme. He sets out with calling this poor *Refugee*, once the Object of his Lordship's highest *Encomiums*, an *infamous*, *inconsiderable* and *impudent Scribbler* ; and gives his Word, for he had none other Evidence to produce, that this same *Scribbler*, and as he elsewhere calls him, in language well fitted to a *Bench of Justice* ! this *Moun-zebank*, this *Impostor*, this *false Preacher*, this *Seducer*, this *Lambert Symnel*, *Perkin Warbeck*, *Prince of Passau*, *Jack Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Cade*, &c. has *menaced* the King, *calumniated* and *traduced* both Houses of *Parliament*, the King's

Ministers, Lord Lieutenants, and all Ranks of Magistrates, nay, to subvert the national Constitution, and bring on Anarchy and Confusion. And thus goes on with a long Train of as false and groundless Charges ; for which he offers no other Proof, than what might be expected, when Culprit was sent condemned in a superior, to be tried in an inferior Court, " his being declared an Enemy to his Country, by the GRAND INQUEST of the Nation." He tells them indeed, " that *Those who are not against him, are for him—and deserve the same Fate.*" And consequently, to avoid the Censure of the C—t and the Displeasure of the C——s, they must *indict or present this Offender per Force.*

HOWEVER, no Bill of *Indictment* could be framed or founded, as the ATTORNEY-GENERAL declared, upon Mr. Lucas's Writings. Then the Court seemed content with a *Presentment*, and charged the *Jury* to *present* him. Accordingly, a Form was sent to them. The *Grand Jury* of the City, called as they were, rejected it. But, the *Grand Jury* of the County, who were no more concerned in it, than the *Grand Jury* of *Middlesex*, found it. It is in Effect, the *Echo* of the Words of the C——s, and the C—t.

THE next *Quarter Sessions* for the City, a *Grand Jury* was again impannelled for the same Purpose, consisting of several of Mr. Lucas's fiercest Enemies, on the two former *Juries*, with a new *Alderman*, and eleven or twelve of the *Common Council*, who had already condemned Mr. Lucas, and contrary to Law and Justice, voted for his *Disfranchisement*. They could not fail of observing the Dictates of the *Court*, and accordingly *presented* him, in the same Words, with the former *Grand Jury*. And the *Judges* are not backward in boasting, that they will use

use the like Means, and get Mr. Lucas presented by every *Grand Jury* in the Kingdom.

NOT content with thus endeavouring to make it unsafe or impossible for this wretched Man to return to his native Country, the C——s have addressed the L—d L——t to proclaim CHARLES LUCAS; and accordingly, we see H—E——y's Proclamation in our *Gazette*, and other public Papers, *to apprehend the said LUCAS, so as he may be proceeded against according to Law*: The only Favour he seems to ask!

BUT, to complete the Scheme, since an *Indictment* could not be framed or founded upon Mr. Lucas's Writings, which reflected no Honour upon the C——s, who sentenced him to Imprisonment and Prosecution, without any *just Evidence*, or *legal Foundation*, Orders were given to revive the horrid, barbarous and exploded Method of Prosecution *without any Indictment*, by an *Information* filed in the *King's Bench*. This is that dangerous and destructive Practice, which commenced in a corrupt Parliament the 3d and 11th of Henry VII. and was carried to the Height in the Reign of that unhappy Prince, Charles I. in his *Star-chamber* Court. How fatal these like Practices then proved to King and People, I need not attempt to demonstrate. It is enough to say, that such Courses have since been looked on, as against all the Liberties and Privileges of *British* Subjects, and therefore wisely and justly exploded. Are we then ripe for a Revival of them? This is now done in I——d, and what will be the Consequence to us, Time only can demonstrate. But, if this Man be permitted to fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment of lawless Power in I——d, what public Writer is safe in *Britain*?

BUT, this reviving of the exploded *Star-chamber* Method of Prosecution by *Information*, was not thought

thought of by the Lord Chief Justice of I——d, when his Lordship published his Charge to the Grand Juries of the County and City of Dublin: For, in that, he enumerates the Priviledges of the Subjects of these Kingdoms, wherein, he observes, p. 5, and possibly in this Instance, laments, “*That no Tortures are allowed, no man capitally punished, unless the Grand Jury, the principal Persons of the County, think the Accusation probable, &c.*” — Yet, now an Information is filed, and a Man is to be put upon his Trial, where a Grand Jury could find no Bill of Indictment against him! — Sure this great Man could not act thus inconsistent with himself, with Law and Justice, I mean, without the Commands or Dictates of a Greater? — The Point is, Lucas guilty or not guilty, right or wrong, must be undone, *Vi vel Armis, per Fas, aut Nefas!* It is plainly necessary, or in the politic Words of the great Lord Chief Justice HEATH of Ireland, it is expedient, to cut off a Man, whose loyal and intrepid Spirit must ever be a Check to the unjust and arbitrary Measures of a weak or wicked M——y, and of a long, packt, corrupted or ignorant P——t. It is to be feared, this is not an Age for so much Virtue and public Spirit, as this unhappy Man has shewn, to be suffered to survive. But, methinks, if it be not criminal, or going out of Fashion, to revive and maintain the true Spirit of the OLD WHIGGS; if it be not avowed false Policy to assert the LIBERTIES and Constitution of Great Britain, and to expose wicked Ministers and Governors; and to set forth the Rights of British Subjects in the strongest Arguments, and to contend for the H——r Succession, upon ancient constitutional Principles, against foreign and domestic Enemies of the R——l Family, with a becoming Spirit and Resolution: If these, I say, be not wrong, it is but bad Policy to suffer

suffer the Man, who most strongly and firmly contended for these Points, and did more Honour to the respective Causes, than any modern Writer, to fall a Victim to the Caprice of an *insignificant Party*, in a long, and corrupt P——t.—If this Man could be a *pliant Partisan* for *Self-Interest*; if he were a *French Stroller*, or a *foreign Vagabond*, he would not probably want Friends at this Time in *Britain*. And shall he find less Friends, because he is a *Fellow-Subject*, intitled to Freedom, brave, *strictly loyal* and a *WHIGG*, upon unalterable Principles? I hope the *Tories* and *Jacobites* will not have such Male-conduct of the *WHIGGS* to reproach them with, or to rejoice in!

BUT, nothing more demands the Attention of the Public, than this Revival of *Star-chamber Practices*, bringing a Man to Trial by an *Information* for a *Libel*. I will venture to say it never was done under a righteous and free Administration, and that if it is suffered once to be re-established, the People are debarred from complaining of the worst Oppressions. Let me recommend the careful Perusal of a Case very parallel to this; the Trial of *Zenger* the Printer of *New-York*, thus persecuted, by the Governor, and his dependent Creatures, the Judges, for complaining of *Mal-administration* in that Province. When the People are denied the Right of complaining, they lose the Freedom of the Press; on which the principal Support of the Constitution depends.

WAS ever Persecution known, equal to this, in a free Country? Who can form a worse Idea of the *Spanish Inquisition*, than of the *I—st*? If this Man's Writings be so extremely criminal, how come the Ministry and Magistracy so supine, as to let them run on uncorrected, unpunished for Years? Why were they not nipt in the Bud? The Dedication to
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the King was presented and published, the Beginning of *June* last ; but, no Crime, no Fault was found in it, 'till *October* last ! And even now, no Crime can, by Law, be made out in it ; yet the Author is treated with less Regard to *Justice* and *Mercy*, to the *common Rights* of a Subject, than if he were a *notorious Murderer, Traitor* or *Rebel* : Such would have *indifferent Sheriffs, Juries* and *Judges* ; all which he is denied. And all this, without the least Form of Duty or Respect to HIS MAJESTY, to whom this Dedication is made ! This poor Man, as he himself expresses it, in his modest, elegant and sensible Address to the Lord Lieutenant, “ *Has appealed to CÆSAR, shall CÆSAR’S Servants obstruct his Appeal’s coming before the Throne, and even punish him for appealing !*”

BUT, however great and lamentable the matchless Sufferings of this ill-fated Man may be, they are nothing in Comparison to the Grievances, under which the City of D—n, and the whole Kingdom of I—d have, since his Persecution groaned.—It is not new to that unhappy Country, to have the S—ts in P———t of many of her *Boroughs* and *Cities*, as publicly set to Sale, as—*Stocks* with us. Nay, to have the H—se nominate M———rs for inferior *Boroughs*, regardless of Election, is not strange with that unfortunate People. But, 'till now, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom was never debarred the Privilege of electing her own Members. For, by the absolute Weight of *Court Interest*, one *Alderman*, though grossly *obnoxious* to the *Citizens* was chosen. But, with him Mr. *La Touche* was returned by an unexceptionable Majority of 88 above the other *Alderman*, which in some Sort appeased the Populace ;—yet, upon a Petition of that *Alderman* to the H—se, 99 was voted the *Minority*, and 11 was declared the *Majority* ; so, another *Alderman*

derman was taken into the H—se, against the Sense of the whole City and Kingdom!

IF we consider the Motive of this most extraordinary Proceeding, it will appear no less surprizing, than the former. It was proved, that Mr. *La Touche* called a Man *Brother Candidate*, in the Public Halls, who has since been voted an *Enemy to his Country!* even, the unfortunate CHARLES LUCAS! He could not therefore, be *fairly elected*, or a *worthy Member* of that august H—e! He, therefore, was rejected!

BUT, that we may do the H—se Justice in all Respects, it is proper to inform the Public, that the M——rs were now come to Town and opposed these Measures, and expressed their Detestation of them with Spirit and Rigour; but finding all Opposition vain, FIFTY-THREE Men of the first Fortune, Character and Distinction in the H——e, quitted it, and made an actual Secession. They that doubt the Truth of this melancholy History may easily be satisfied by an Appeal to any of this Number: For, their Names are not kept secret.

BUT, the raging Spirit of *Persecution*, which seldom or never knows or observes any Rules or Bounds, has been yet carried to a greater Length.

MR. LUCAS's Friends proposed getting a *Met-zotinto* Print of him done by public Subscription. When it was done, the Maker advertised, that the Print of CHARLES LUCAS was or shortly would be, ready to be delivered to the Subscribers. Mrs. *Esdall*, the Wife of Mr. Lucas's Printer, who has also fled from *Persecution*, was examined before the H—se, for printing the Advertisement; but, upon giving up her Authority, she was *graciously* dismissed, after being strictly cautioned against the *Liberty* of the *Press*. Then, Mr. *Miller*, the Print-Scraper, was examined, and asked, why he presumed to publish such an Advertisement? He an-

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swered, as became a *free Briton*, "Because it was his Trade to make Prints and sell them : His Sale depended upon his Advertisement : In his Country, in *England*, it was not criminal to make Prints and advertise them, and he knew no Law in this Country against it."

UPON this, he was ordered to withdraw, which, by the Advice of some humane Member, he did very effectually, and happily for him and his Family : For, he had scarce got beyond the Precincts of the House, when the *prime Agent* in Mr. *Lucas's* Persecution moved, that *Miller* should be committed *close Prisoner* to his Majesty's Goal of *Newgate*, which passed in the Affirmative.

WHEN those, who should be the *Promoters* and *Guardians* of the PUBLIC LIBERTIES, the *faithful Counsellors*, *Representatives* and *Ministers* of the PEOPLE, thus spoil them of every Right and Privilege of Subjects, what must become of the whole Nation?—Attacks made by the *first* or *second* Estate upon the *Liberties* of the Subject, have often been restrained by the *third*; but, when *those*, who should be a *Balance* against, and a *Check* upon, *these*, invade the Rights of their *Ward*, where are the unhappy People to seek Redress?—From the CROWN alone; and it is soon effectually done, only by dissolving a P——t, which has already too long subsisted, by *twenty Years* at the least; and has so far run counter to the Constitution, in restraining the Progress of, and subverting the whole Laws, that no Subject can live with any Degree of Safety or Security, to his *Life*, *Liberty* or *Property* in that Kingdom.

By a *Vote* of the C——s, it is made penal for any *Clergyman* or *Proctor*, or for any *Lawyer*, *Attorney* or *Agent*, to take any Step towards suing for *Tyshe-Aristment*, or *Herbage*. By another *Vote*, the Lord *Clancarty* and all *Lawyers*, *Attornies*, *Solicitors* and *Agents* for him, are prohibited suing in
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Law or Equity, for that Nobleman's Estate in *I——d*, or for any Part thereof. I am neither arguing for the *Clergy* or his *Lordship*, but for the Rights of Men, under the Law.

IN a State of *Anarchy*, to which this Constitution was once by blind *Faction* reduced, the House of *Lords* was voted an *useless and unnecessary* Part of the Government; and so, absolutely *abolished* by the *Commons*. This has been bitterly and justly censured by all true Lovers of our happy Establishment. What better Treatment does that H——e of C——s deserve, which not only sets the House of *Lords*, but the KING also at naught, in thus restraining and curtailling the *common Law* of the Realm, without the *Assent, Consent or Knowledge* of the KING or LORDS? But, the whole Course of p——ry Proceedings seems now quite reversed in the Kingdom of *I——d*: For, since the J——n of the *L——ds* has been taken away by an A-t of our P——t, the C——s have treated them with little or no Regard, especially the present C——s, who hold the *L——ds* in such Contempt, that they have actually refused to hold any Conference with them; insomuch, that *Bills* are now frequently transmitted from either H——se to the King and Council here, quite regardless of the *Assent or Concurrence* of the other; so that without having a Power of proposing any Alterations or Amendment in a *Bill*, they can only accept or reject it, when it is returned from this, at a very considerable Expence to the Nation. Let any considerate Man judge, to what these Abuses directly and inevitably tend! and whether these Grievances do, or do not, loudly call for a speedy Redress! and whether he can be justly deemed an *Enemy* to his Country, who seeks for *legal Redress*!

I WOULD not be thought prejudiced in Favour of any individual in this Cause; I contend only for *Truth and Justice*, for the *Laws and Liberties* of my

Fellow Subjects. I am not insensible that Mr. *Lucas* is wrong in many Points ; but, I am convinced his *Errors* are in *Judgment*, not in *Intention*. However, let him be as criminal as his Enemies would paint him ; let him be prosecuted with Strictness, with Rigour ; but in the Prosecution, let it be remembered, that he is a Man, a Subject, under the Protection of the Law, and under the Crown of *Britain* ; let him have Usage fit for a Man, and be allowed the Privileges of a Subject, till it appears, that he has forfeited them by due Course of Law ; then let his Persecutors cut him off without Mercy if they will ; if he be condemned upon a fair, free and legal Trial. But, if he is permitted to suffer otherwise, who can think himself safe in these Kingdoms ?

If such a *Tyranny* comes to be once established in *I——d*, who can be supposed able to bear it, while *England* or *America*, *Holland* or *Switzerland*, are open and free ? Will any *Protestant* drudge in *Bondage* and wretched *Vassalage* in *I——d* ? It is not to be imagined. And what must be the Consequence if all the *Protestants*, as many of them now threaten, actually quit that Kingdom ? Must it not again revert to it's ancient *Barbarism* and *Ruins* ? And shall all the Blood and Treasure expended by our Ancestors in reclaiming and maintaining it, be thrown away, and we lose the Benefit of such invariable Friends, Allies and Fellow-Subjects, and have the same Task of Reduction or Reclamation of the *Natives* to undergo again ?—God forbid !

LET me here apply a Phrase, from the Writings of this *poor Exile*, which conveys a most useful Lesson to a *Briton's* Ear. *Address XI.* p. 4. “ Old *Rome* extended her Conquests over all the western World. And while the Purity of her Councils was pre-

preserved, by the FREEDOM of ELECTIONS, the conquered were left no Room to complain, the People did but change their Masters; and that, generally, for the better: For, they learned *Liberty*, and cultivated Arts and Commerce. But when *Rome*, the *Fountain-head*, began to be *corrupted*; when Men got into the *biggest Offices*, by *Treachery*, *Fraud*, *Venality*, or *Force*, the Councils were contaminated; the Officers and Servants of the State followed the Example of their Masters; and that *Tyranny*, which was, at first, exercised, upon the *Borders* and *Provinces*, soon reached the Center, the *Head* of the COMMON-WEALTH, and, necessarily, brought that great Government to a sudden, to a shameful Dissolution." Should not this alarm every true *Briton*? and make him set up a Watch and a Guard against the impending Danger? Every thinking Man must see and confess, that *I——d* adds Strength and Security to the Hands of *Britain*, as well, as Wealth to her Coffers. That Kingdom may, at worst, be looked upon, as a Kind of *Barrier* to the *Liberties* of this. When she is destroyed, *England* must be in Danger: For if *Great-Britain* tamely permits the Constitution of *I——d*, and the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects of that Kingdom to be overturned, by evil *G——rs*, by mock *P——ts*, by *dependent* and *corrupt Judges*, * by *Inquisitions* and *Star-chamber Courts*, &c. what Security have we, that the same *Engines* may not some time or other be turned to our Destruction?

LET every loyal Subject then, exert his Interest in bringing these Matters properly before his Majesty, "who wants but due Information, not Inclination, to redress the Grievances of his Subjects."

SINCE Divisions and Discord alone can expose the Subjects of our Crown to the Craft and Power of their insidious Enemies, it is high Time to abolish all Distinctions of Names and Nations, and to
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unite in the common Cause and Interest of
PEACE and THEIR COUNTRY. Let them shew
themselves *Brave* in Deed, as well as in Name.
Let them fear GOD, and honour the KING, or
fulfil the great Summary of the Law: *Love their*
GOD *with all their might, and their NEIGHBOURS*
as themselves.—So shall neither foreign or domestic
Corruption or Tyranny be able to work the Ruin of
the BRITANNIC CONSTITUTION, or of any of
its Members.

The Commissions of the Judges run, *not during good Behaviour, but during Pleasure, in 1788.*

ERRATA

Page 9, line 3, for *bave*, read *bas*.
 Page 17, line 35, for *under Law*, read *under
 the Law*.
 Page 22, line 16, for *imputed*, read *impute*.
 Page 54, line 31, for *set*, read *sat*.
 Page 64, line 8, for *imagan*, read *imaginable*.
 Page 66, line 20, for *imbrud*, read *imbu'd*.
 Page 68, line 11, for *Gentleman*, read *Gentlemen*.
 Page 77, line 30, dele *all*.

